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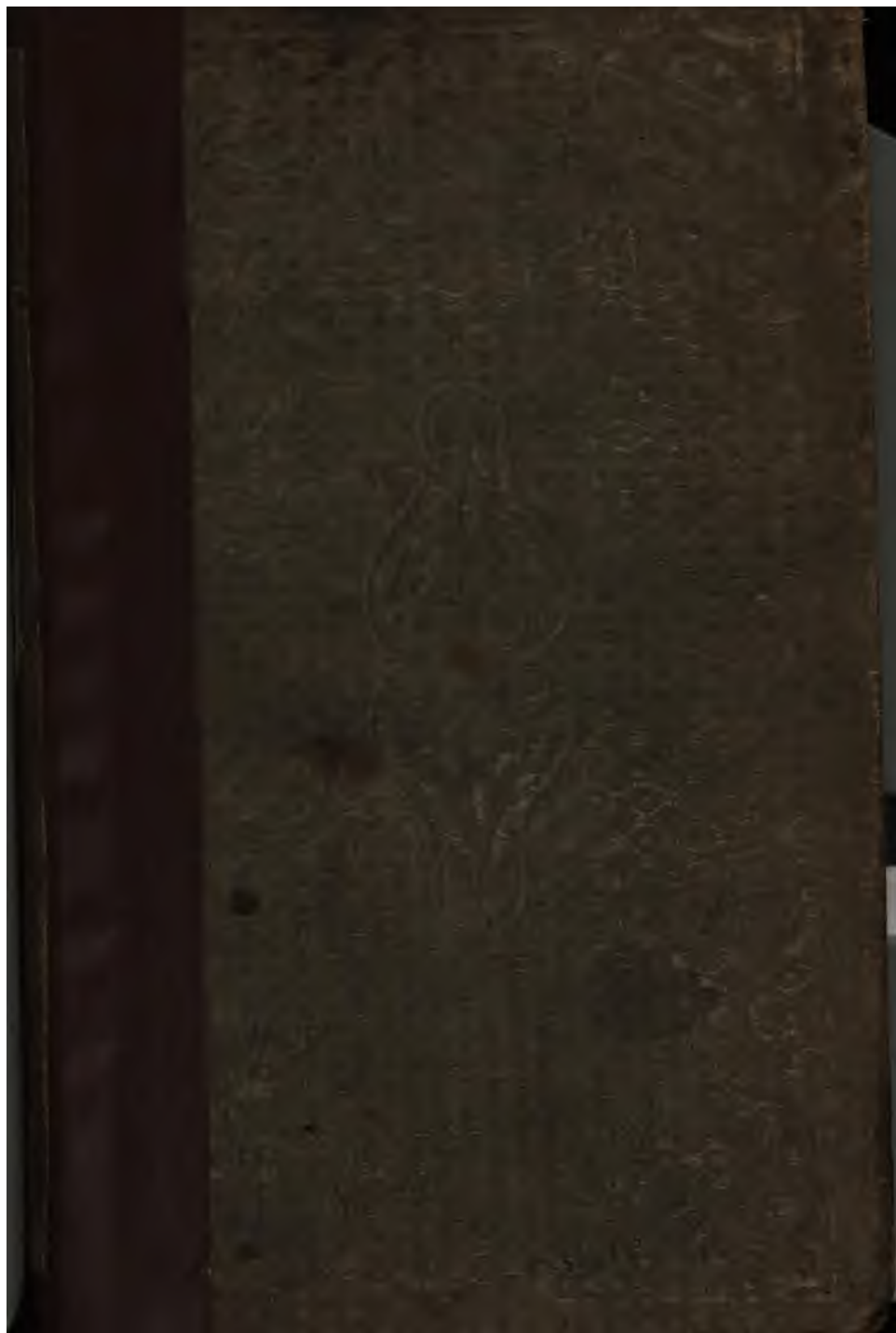
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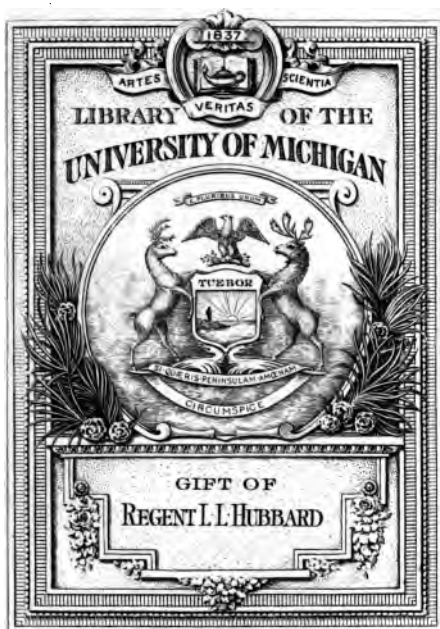
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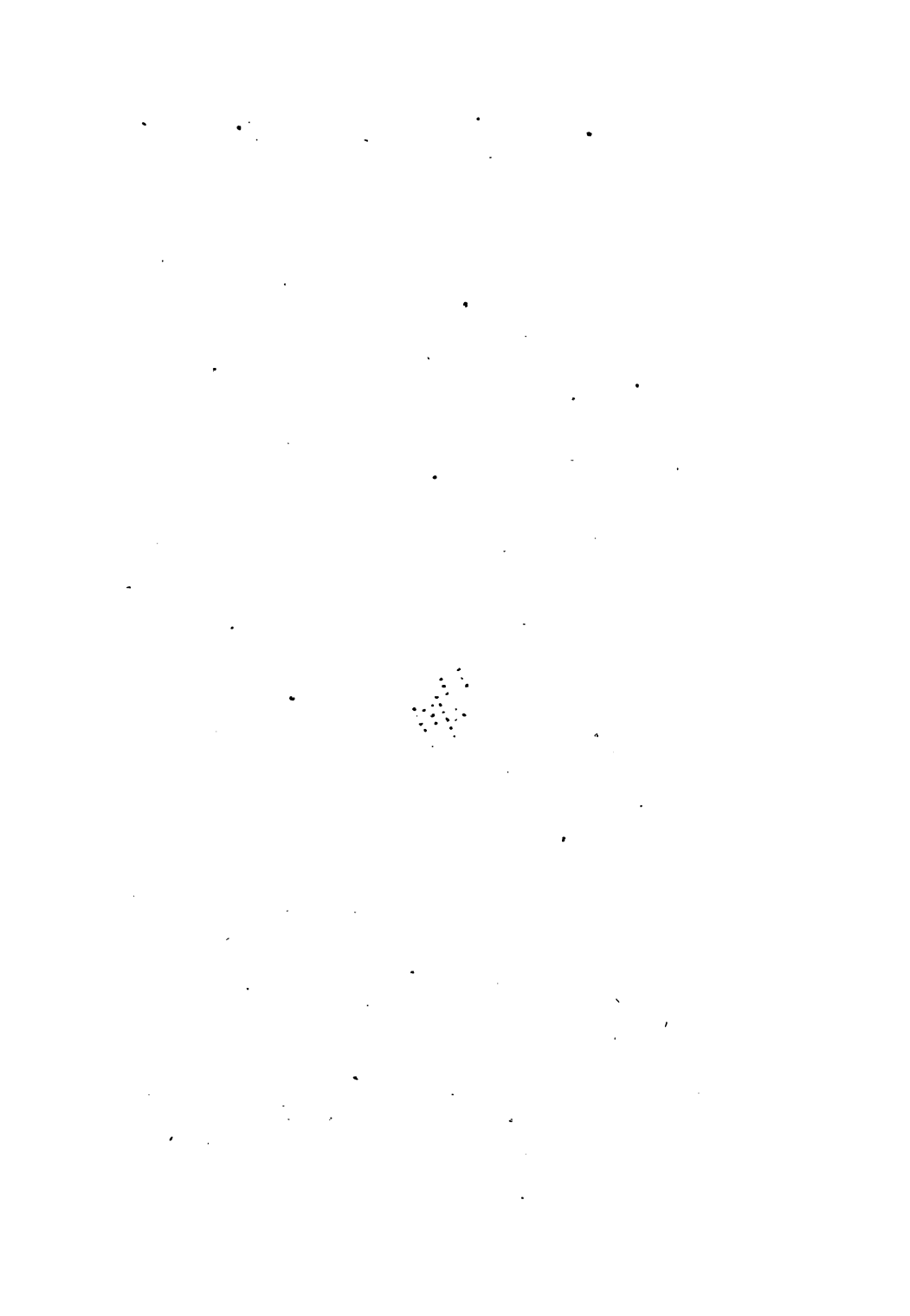
HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THEIR
FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES
TO THE
CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

BY SALMA HALE.

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HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.
INTRODUCTION.

AMERICA is often denominated the New World. That it emerged from the ocean at a later period than the eastern continent, is an opinion to which the recent discoveries and discussions of geologists have given some degree of plausibility. The inhabitants of other regions first acquired a knowledge of its existence shortly before the year 1000 after Christ. Biarne, a native of Iceland, then left that island for Greenland; but, losing his reckoning in a fog, and sailing he knew not in what direction, he at length saw land, which, from the account he gave of his course on his return, is now supposed to have been some part of the coast of North America. He did not leave his ship, but continued his voyage, and arrived at length at Greenland.

Lief, a native of that country, having heard of Biarne's voyage, bought his ship, and in the year 1000, sailed towards the point from which Biarne returned. He soon discovered land, and went on shore, somewhere, it is supposed, on the coast of Labrador or Nova Scotia. Sailing thence, and passing between an island, probably Nantucket, and a promontory, he landed at a place supposed to be in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. Here he erected huts, or booths, and passed the winter; and, finding an abundance of grapes in the vicinity, he called the country Vinland, or Wineland.

In 1002, Lief having returned to Greenland, Thorwald, his brother, undertook a voyage in the same direction. He reached Vinland, discovered Lief's booths, there passed the winter, and continued some time in the country. In the summer of 1003, Thorwald was killed in a contest with the natives. In the spring of 1005, the remainder of the party returned to Greenland.

Two years afterwards, an expedition,

ships and one hundred and forty men, sailed for the same country. After coasting along the shore from Labrador to Rhode Island, they there landed, passed the winter, and had considerable intercourse with the natives. During their stay at this place, Gudrida, the wife of Thorfinn, the commander of the expedition, bore a son, who was called Snorre, from whom has descended many distinguished individuals, of whom Thorwaldsen, the great sculptor, is one. Other voyages from Greenland were afterwards made to this country; but no account has reached us of any made after the year 1347. Narratives of the voyages, of which a very brief abstract is here given, have been lately published, under the superintendence of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, from manuscripts recently discovered in northern libraries. They are not universally credited; but the reasons for believing them are more cogent than those by which many undoubted historical facts are supported.

It has not been ascertained that the knowledge acquired by the Greenlanders of the existence of America was ever communicated to the inhabitants of the eastern continent. It is known, however, that a constant intercourse was kept up between Greenland and Iceland, and that the English often visited the latter island for the purposes of traffic. And it is mentioned in the journal of the expedition of Thorfinn, that a party of eight men, going in search of the settlement of Lief, were driven by westerly gales to the coast of Ireland, and there made slaves. This gives some countenance to the tradition that the chieftain Madoc, with a portion of his followers, came to this country from Wales.

At this period, the mariners of Northern Europe were more adventurous, if not more skilful, navigators than those of more southern latitudes. The latter were accustomed to cruise, in frail barks, along the coast, not daring to lose sight of land; but the increase of the arts among them, the extension of geographical knowledge, and more especially the invention of the mariner's compass, about the year 1300, gave an impetus to navigation which led to important discoveries. The first was that of the Canary Islands. Afterwards a squadron, sent by the Portuguese to explore the coast of Africa, passed beyond Cape Non, which had not before been doubled, and reached Cape Bojador. Thus encouraged, they sent out other expeditions for the same purpose, which were successful, discovering, in 1418, the Island of Porto Santo, and, in 1419, the Island of Madeira. Soon after, the Islands of Cape de Verd and the Azores were discovered by companies of merchants.

John II., who ascended the throne of Portugal in 1481, partook of the enthusiasm for discovery which had begun to

animate his whole people. In 1484, a powerful fleet was despatched to cruise along the coast of Africa, which advanced fifteen hundred miles beyond the equator, and discovered the kingdoms of Benin and Congo. In 1487, Bartholomew Diaz, in command of another fleet, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the southern extremity of Africa.

Exalted ideas of the wealth of the East Indies were then entertained by Europeans; and it was the darling object of all engaged in commerce to find a less expensive route to that country than the one by land then pursued. The information obtained in these expeditions, and in one by land to Abyssinia and the coast of Malabar, gave rise to the hope that India might be reached by sailing first along the western coast of Africa, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and then sailing northward to the region of riches. This voyage, now so easily accomplished, was then only contemplated as a possible achievement, difficult, if possible, and sure to crown him who should first perform it with never-ending fame.

Among the navigators of that age was Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, but a resident of Lisbon. He was distinguished for experience and skill in his profession, for extensive knowledge, and for a bold and original genius. Reflecting that the earth was round, he conceived the project of seeking India by sailing directly west. No sooner had he conceived the project, than his mind and his industry gathered arguments and facts which convinced him that it was feasible. Some ancient writer had declared that the diameter of the earth was not so great as was generally supposed; from the accounts of others he was led to believe that India extended farther eastward than geographers had laid it down; and in his intercourse with mariners and others, he had learned that pieces of carved wood, reeds of immense size, trunks of huge pine trees, and, most important of all, the bodies of two dead men, whose features differed from any known race of people, all driven towards Europe by westerly winds, had been taken from the sea at various places. All these, acting upon an enthusiastic temperament, not only confirmed his belief, but impelled him to devote all his energies to the accomplishment of his project. He even considered himself singled out by the Deity, as its agent, to execute this, its own stupendous design.

Being unable to defray the expenses of an expedition, Columbus obtained an audience of the king of Portugal, explained to him his project, and solicited aid. It has been said that he first applied to his native city: but recent investigation throws doubt upon this statement. The king listened to his application with favour, and referred it to his council; but they, instead of reporting favourably upon it, recommended that

Columbus should be kept in suspense, and a vessel despatched to make discoveries in the route which he had designated. One was accordingly sent, but returned unsuccessful. Indignant at this unworthy conduct, he immediately left Portugal, and, repairing to the court of Spain, sought an audience of its joint sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella.

By the friendship of the archbishop of Toledo, he at length obtained access to the sovereigns; but he remained a long time in Spain, following the court from city to city, tantalized by encouragement often held out and as often withdrawn, without succeeding in his object. When hope had almost deserted him, two of his friends made a last attempt to persuade the queen to furnish the necessary funds. By their zeal and eloquence her generous spirit was enkindled, and she declared she would undertake the enterprise for her crown of Castile, and would pledge her private jewels to raise means to fit out the expedition.

On the 17th of April, 1492, Columbus was appointed admiral, viceroy, and governor of all the islands and continents which he might discover,—which offices were made hereditary in his family,—and other powers, rights, and privileges were granted to him. Two armed vessels were provided, to which a third was afterwards added, he furnishing a part of the expenses; and on Friday, the 3d day of the following August, he set sail from the port of Palos, steering towards the Canary Islands.

He arrived there on the 9th, remained there three weeks to refit his vessels, and then departed, steering directly west, and boldly venturing into seas which no vessel had yet entered. As the heights of the westernmost island faded from view, the hearts of the crews failed them. They were leaving every thing dear to the heart of man—country, friends, and relatives; before them every thing was mystery and peril. Many shed tears, and some broke into loud lamentations. The admiral, to soothe their distress, described to them the countries teeming with gold and precious stones, to which he was about to conduct them, and promised them lands, and riches, and every thing that could encourage them or inflame their imaginations.

Apprehensive that the crews would be alarmed if they knew how fast they receded from home, he kept two reckonings—one private and correct, for his own guidance; the other, which was open to general inspection, exhibited a daily progress several leagues less than the actual sailing of the ship. On the 13th of September, having sailed about six hundred miles from the Canaries, he noticed the variation of the needle, which had never before been remarked. He made no mention of the circumstance; but, a few days afterwards, it attracted the attention of the pilots, and filled them with consternation.

They apprehended that the compass was about to lose its mysterious virtues; and without this, their only guide, what was to become of them in this vast and trackless ocean; He tasked his ingenuity for an explanation; and that which he gave, although it did not perfectly satisfy himself, quieted the alarm of his companions.

They soon arrived within the influence of the trade wind, which blows constantly from the east to the west between the tropics, and then advanced rapidly over a tranquil sea. After proceeding about one thousand miles from the Canaries, they met with indications of land, such as weeds and birds, which animated and encouraged the crews. They continued to sail onward; but their expectations were disappointed, and they became agitated and alarmed at the distance left behind them, and at the thought that it might be impossible to return. They recalled to mind that the scheme had been condemned by the learned, and ridiculed by the ignorant. Some proposed that Columbus should be compelled to return; others, that he should be thrown into the sea, and his friends informed, upon their return to Spain, that he had fallen overboard while taking observations of the stars.

Amidst these difficulties, Columbus displayed those traits of character which proved the greatness of his mind, and his peculiar fitness for the arduous duties of his station. He appeared among the crew with a calm and cheerful countenance, as if satisfied that he should succeed in his undertaking. Sometimes he soothed them by holding out the prospect of riches and fame, and by reminding them of the gratuity which had been offered to him who should first discover land. Sometimes he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened the most refractory with the vengeance of their sovereigns, should they compel him to relinquish the undertaking.

These encouragements and threats prevented open resistance to his authority. Meanwhile the squadron proceeded onward; the indications of land became more frequent; but none being discovered, the crews again became turbulent and clamorous; they insisted upon abandoning the voyage as hopeless, and returning home. Columbus endeavoured to pacify them; but finding the clamour to increase, he told them it was useless to murmur, and that he was determined to persevere until he had accomplished the enterprise.

Fortunately, the next day, the signs of land were such as to remove all doubt, and every eye was strained to discover it. At ten o'clock in the evening, Columbus saw a light glimmering at a distance. It soon disappeared, but at two o'clock in the morning of the 12th of October, a gun from the Pinta gave the joyful signal of land. Passing from one extreme to the

other, they who, a few days before, had reviled and insulted their commander, now regarded him as one whom the Deity had endowed with knowledge and penetration above the common lot of mortals.

At sunrise, Columbus, in a rich and splendid dress, landed, and with a drawn sword in his hand, and displaying the royal standard, took possession of the island for the crown of Spain, all his followers kneeling on the shore, and kissing the ground with tears of joy. The natives, who had assembled in great numbers on the first appearance of the ships, stood around the Spaniards, gazing in speechless astonishment.

"The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature—entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. Though not tall, they were well shaped and active. They were shy at first, through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards; from whom, with transports of joy, they received various trinkets, for which in return they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value they could produce."

To this island Columbus gave the name of St. Salvador. The natives called it Guanahani, and by that name it was known. It was one of the Bahama Isles, and is above three thousand miles from Gomera, the most western of the Canaries. From the poverty and ignorance of the inhabitants, Columbus was convinced that he had not yet arrived at the rich country which was the object of his search. Leaving Guanahani, he discovered and visited several other islands, and at length arrived at one called Hayti, and by him Hispaniola. Here he remained a few weeks, and then returned to Spain.

The news of his wonderful discovery filled the kingdom with astonishment and joy. His reception at court was accompanied by flattering and splendid ceremonies ordained for the occasion; and he was honoured by many proofs of royal favour. He made three subsequent voyages, and, in 1498, discovered the continent of America, at the mouth of the Oronoco, a river of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, but far surpassing the largest in the Old.

The honour, however, of first discovering the continent, must, without diminishing the merit of Columbus, be given to John Cabot and his son Sebastian. They were Venetian merchants, resident in Bristol, but, soon after the result of the first voyage of Columbus was known, were sent, by the king of England, on an expedition of discovery, in the same direction. In June,

1497, they arrived at the island of Newfoundland, in North America, and, proceeding westward, soon after reached the continent. It being their object, also, to find a direct passage to the East Indies, they first sailed northwardly, in search of it, as far as the 57th degree of latitude; then, returning, cruised along the coast to East Florida; and thence sailed to England, without having made any settlement. Upon the discoveries made in this voyage the English founded their claim to the eastern portion of North America.

In 1449, Alonzo de Ojeda, a companion of Columbus in his first expedition, discovered the continent at Paria. Americus Vesputius, a Florentine gentleman, who accompanied him, published, on his return, an account of the voyage, and a description of the country which they had visited; and from him it derives the name it bears.

In 1504, several adventurous navigators, from different parts of France, came, in small vessels, to fish on the banks of Newfoundland. In 1524, John Verrazzani, a Florentine, in the employment of the king of France, sailed along the coast of America, from Florida to the 50th degree of north latitude.—He is supposed to have entered the harbours of New York and Newport. He made, the next year, another voyage, from which he never returned, nor is it known by what disaster he perished. During the next forty years, frequent voyages were made to the coast of North America. Of some, the object was fishing; of others, trade with the natives. In 1540, the French made an attempt to plant a colony in Canada, which was unsuccessful.

Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon, in 1512.—He had been governor of Porto Rico, and had heard and believed the report, almost universally credited in that age of wonders, that somewhere in that quarter of the world, a fountain poured out waters which would give a perpetuity of youth to him who should drink of them. Sailing in pursuit of this fountain, he, on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, discovered land a few miles north of St. Augustine. He went on shore, took possession of the territory for Spain, remained several weeks on the coast, and then returned to Porto Rico.

The same coast was afterwards visited by other Spaniards; and in 1537, Ferdinand de Soto, a favourite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, received from Charles the Fifth a commission to conquer and govern Florida. He embarked with about nine hundred men, and in May, 1539, arrived at Spiritu Santo. Being told by the natives that gold might be found in abundance in the interior, he proceeded with his whole force to search for it. An account of this expedition has been published; but the places visited not now bearing the

same names, it is useless to describe his route. It is supposed that he passed into the country east of Flint River, in Georgia, and north of the head of the Bay of Appalachee. The next spring, he directed his course north-eastwardly, passed the Alatomaha, and came to the Ogeechee. In July, 1540, he was on the Coosa, near its sources, and afterwards at a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombigbee, where a battle was fought in which 2500 Indians perished. The Spaniards then proceeded towards the north, and passed the winter of 1540-1 in the upper part of the state of Mississippi. Thence they proceeded to the river of that name, and crossed it, probably at the lowest Chickasaw Bluffs. They appear to have visited the high-lands of White River, two hundred miles beyond the Mississippi, and to have wintered on the Washita. In the spring of 1542, they descended the Washita and Red Rivers, and near the junction of the latter with the Mississippi, De Soto died. In the hope of reaching New Spain by land, they proceeded westward as far as Natchitoches; then returned to the Mississippi, constructed seven brigantines, in which they descended that river, and, coasting along the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico, arrived, on the 10th of September, 1543, at a Spanish settlement on the river Panuco, having been wandering in the wilderness nearly four years. Of those who entered Florida with De Soto, only three hundred and eleven arrived at Panuco.—Wherever they stopped, they inquired for gold, and the Indians, to get rid of unwelcome visitors, directed them to other and distant places.

In 1562, that illustrious statesman, Jasper Coligni, the head of the Protestant sect in France, projected a settlement in America, to which his brethren might retire from the persecution of the Catholics. He fitted out two ships, and gave the command of them to John Ribaut, who proceeded to America, and landed at a place supposed to be within the limits of South Carolina. He there built a fort, which he called Carolina, in honour of Charles IX., then king of France; left a part of his men, and returned home. The men left behind soon after mutinied, killed their commander, built and equipped a vessel, and sailed for home. In their eagerness to return, they neglected to provide sufficient stores, and suffered on the voyage, the extremity of famine. At length they met an English vessel, which carried a part of them to France, and the rest to England. This was the first attempt to plant a colony within the limits of the United States; and it is worthy of remark, that to secure an asylum from religious persecution was the object in view.

In 1564, Coligni made another attempt to plant a Protestant colony in America. Three ships were sent, under Laudonniere,

who landed and built a fort on the banks of St. John's, in Florida. At first, the natives were friendly; unjust treatment made them hostile; but the French soon found a more potent enemy in the Spaniards. In 1565, the ferocious and bigoted Melendez, having received from the king of Spain a commission to subjugate and govern Florida, arrived with a strong force on the coast, and approached the French ships at anchor. To the inquiry, who he was, and what were his objects, he replied, "I am Melendez of Spain, sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die." The French fleet fled, and, though pursued, escaped.

Melendez returned to the harbour of St. Augustine, went on shore, and, with the usual ceremonies, proclaimed Philip II. king of all North America. Ribaut, who had been sent out to take command of the French settlement, determined to put to sea and attack the Spaniards. A furious tempest arose, and wrecked every French ship on the Florida coast. Melendez, knowing the settlement on the St. John's was in a defenceless state, led his troops through forests and marshes to attack it. He surprised the garrison, and nearly two hundred men, women, and children were killed. A few escaped into the woods. Of these, a part returned, gave themselves up, and were immediately massacred; the others, after severe sufferings, found means to return to France.

After the carnage was completed, mass was said, a cross raised, and a site for a church selected on ground still moist with the blood of a peaceful colony.—It is possible that these Spaniards were unconscious of the atrocity of their actions. It is possible that they believed that the religion of Christ justified and required such enormities. How much of the guilt was theirs, and how much must be attributed to the ignorance and barbarism of the age, it is difficult to decide.

The shipwrecked men were discovered, and, after a parley, capitulated, upon receiving what they understood to be a promise of safety: "If they would surrender, and place themselves at his mercy, he would do with them what God should give him grace to do." They were received by Melendez in divisions, and transported, in boats, across a river that separated the parties. In these divisions, with their hands tied, they were marched to St. Augustine, and, as they approached the fort, upon a signal given, were massacred. A few Catholics were spared. The whole number butchered was said, by the French, to be nine hundred; by the Spaniards, not so many.

Dominic de Gourges, a bold soldier of Gascony, burning with the thirst of revenge, sold his property, obtained contri-

butions from his friends, and equipping three ships, embarked for Florida. He gained possession of two forts near the mouth of the St. John, and a larger one near the site of the French colony. Not being able to keep possession of the country, and revenge being his only object, he hanged his prisoners upon trees, and returned to Europe.

Soon after the return of De Gourgues, a civil war between the Catholics and Protestants broke out in France; and Walter Raleigh, then a young man, but afterwards distinguished in the history of England, abruptly left the university to learn the art of war under the veteran Coligni. He must have imbibed from his leader and his companions the indignation excited by the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged, and gathered from them some knowledge of Florida. It is known that he became acquainted with the painter De Morgues, who was one of those that escaped from the massacre. In 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the half brother of Raleigh, obtained, from Queen Elizabeth, a grant of any country which he might discover in America, and exclusive jurisdiction over it, provided a plantation should be established within six years. He collected a company of volunteer adventurers, equipped a fleet, and put to sea; but one of his ships was lost, and misfortune compelled the remainder to return. In 1583, assisted by Raleigh, he equipped a second squadron, and sailed for America. On arriving before St. John, in Newfoundland, he found thirty-six vessels fishing in the harbour, which shows how early that place was known to be a good fishing station. Sailing south, his largest ship was wrecked off Wiscasset, and one hundred men lost their lives. He then determined to return to England, and perished on the voyage home.

In 1584, Raleigh, then the favourite of the queen, who had conferred on him the honour of knighthood, obtained a patent similar to that which had been granted to Sir Humphrey. The next year, he sent two ships, under the command of Captains Amidas and Barlow, to explore the country. In July, they landed on an island called Wocoken, in the inlet to Pamlico Sound, then proceeded to the Island of Roanoke, at the mouth of Albemarle Sound, in North Carolina, and at both places were treated with great respect by the natives. Having freighted their ships with furs, sassafras, and cedar, they returned to England, where they published marvellous accounts of the beauty of the country, the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, and the innocence of the natives. The queen was so charmed with the description, that, as a memorial that the country had been discovered during the reign of a virgin queen, she called it Virginia.

The next year, Raleigh sent from England a fleet of seven vessels, commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, and carrying

upwards of one hundred persons, destined to begin a settlement. They were left under Ralph Lane, on Roanoke Island. The success of the Spaniards in finding gold in South America, led these adventurers to employ their time in a fruitless search for it here. In 1586, they were visited by Sir Francis Drake, who, at their request, conveyed them back to England. Lane carrying home a quantity of tobacco, the Indian custom of smoking it was adopted by Raleigh, a man of gaiety and fashion, and introduced at court.

Soon after Drake departed, Grenville again arrived with provisions for the settlement. Finding it abandoned, he left fifteen men to keep possession of the country. In 1587, three other ships were sent to the same place; but the men who had been left could not be found, having probably been murdered by the savages. On board these ships came John White, who had been appointed governor of the colony, eighty-nine men, and seventeen women. Of the women, one was Eleanor Dare, daughter of White, and wife of one of the magistrates. Soon after her arrival, she gave birth to a female child, which was named Virginia, and was the first child born in the United States of English parents. When the ships were ready to depart for England, the emigrants, becoming gloomy with apprehensions, besought White to return home, and hasten back with reinforcements and supplies. He at first refused to desert his post, but, after much importunity, consented and embarked. Soon after his arrival in England, Raleigh fitted out two vessels, in which he set sail for America, but was compelled to return; and all England being then frantic with consternation at the approach of the Spanish Armada, the colony at Roanoke was forgotten. And when the Armada was defeated, Raleigh, having exhausted his means, was unable to send assistance. Nearly three years elapsed before White returned; and when he arrived at Roanoke, not one of the colonists was there. Whether they had been killed or captured by the Indians, or had voluntarily sought refuge from starvation among them, are questions which the imagination has been tasked to decide, but tasked in vain. It is stated that Raleigh, at his own charge, sent five several times to search for his lost colonists; but all search proved fruitless.

These successive misfortunes withdrew, for several years, the attention of the English from these distant regions. In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold made a voyage to America. Instead of taking the circuitous, but usual route, by the West India Islands, he steered directly west from England, shortening the voyage at least one third, and arrived, in May, on the coast of Massachusetts. He discovered a headland, and taking a great quantity of codfish near it, called it Cape Cod. Proceeding southwardly, he passed Gay Head, entered Buz-

zard's Bay, and upon an island within it erected a small fort, the ruins of which were visible so late as 1797. After trading a while with the Indians, he returned home.

The report made by Gosnold revived the spirit of adventure. In 1603 and 1605, two voyages were made in the same direction, and Penobscot Bay, Massachusetts Bay, and the rivers between them, were discovered. The accounts given by the last navigators confirmed the report of Gosnold, and led to a more extensive scheme of colonization than had yet been attempted.

Of this scheme, Mr. Richard Hakluyt was the most active promoter. By his persuasion an association of gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, was formed for the purpose of sending colonies to America. Upon their application to King James, he, by letters patent, dated in 1606, divided the country of Virginia, then considered as extending from the southern boundary of North Carolina to the northern boundary of Maine, into two districts, and constituted two companies for planting colonies within them.

The southern district he granted to Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, chiefly resident in London, and therefore styled the London Company. This district extended northward to the southern boundary of Maryland. The northern district he granted to Thomas Hanham and his associates, who were styled the Plymouth Company, probably because the principal members resided in that city. This district extended from near the southern boundary of New York to the Bay of Passamaquoddy, a region intervening between the two districts, more than one hundred and fifty miles in width. The two districts were called South and North Virginia. The members of these companies were principally merchants: their objects were the extension of commerce and the discovery of mines of the precious metals, which were supposed to abound in North as well as South America.

For the supreme government of the colonies, a grand council was instituted, the members of which were to reside in England, and to be appointed by the king. The subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council in each colony, the members of which were to be appointed by the grand council in England, and to be governed by its instructions. To the emigrants and their descendants were secured the enjoyment of all the rights of denizens or citizens, in the same manner, and to the same extent, as if they had remained or been born in England.

By the French, many more voyages than have been mentioned were made to the coast of North America. The Banks of Newfoundland were more frequently visited by the hardy fishermen of Brittany and Normandy than by those of any

other nation. In 1534, James Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence; and in subsequent voyages ascended it to Montreal, and built a fort at Quebec. In 1604, Henry IV. of France granted to the Sieur de Monts all the country between the 40th and the 46th degrees of north latitude, or between New Jersey and Nova Scotia. By virtue of this grant, a settlement was made on the south-eastern side of the Bay of Fundy, at a place then, by the French, named Port Royal, since, by the English, Annapolis.

In 1608, Samuel Champlain, sent out by a company of merchants at Dieppe and St. Malo, founded Quebec. The next year, he, with two other Europeans, joined a party of savages in an expedition against the Iroquois, ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name. The settlements in Nova Scotia, then called Acadie, and in Canada, continually received additions to their population from France; the French settlers mingled with the savages, and obtained over them an influence greater than those of any other nation; and always when war existed between England and France, and sometimes when it did not, incursions were made from those settlements and the adjoining wilderness into New England and New York. In these expeditions the homes of the frontier settlers were often burnt, their cattle killed, or driven away, and themselves, their wives and children massacred.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA.

DURING the 15th and 16th centuries, Europe witnessed a revolution in the manners, opinions, and pursuits of its inhabitants, greater and more beneficial than ever occurred in the same period of time. The earliest and most efficient cause of this revolution was the discovery of the art of printing. How efficient this cause must have been, may be imagined by reflecting to what depth of ignorance the world would soon sink were that discovery entirely and irretrievably lost. It carried light to the dark regions of the intellect, excited it to intense activity, and multiplied rapidly and incessantly the number of those who claimed the privilege of becoming actors on the theatre of the world. The Reformation followed as a necessary effect, and became itself a cause propelling, with a more rapid motion, and extending, the revolution which had begun. The mariner's compass, which, although discovered about the year 1300, was, for a long time, but little used, offered to instructed reason and daring enterprise the

of safely and speedily visiting distant regions, and revived and gave energy to the spirit of commerce. It was fortunate for this part of America that, when the Old World began to pour itself upon the New, mankind had advanced, and was advancing, in the career of improvement, and that our shores were first settled by emigrants from that country in which improvement had been greatest.

The members of the London Company consisted principally of merchants; but connected with them were many distinguished noblemen and several elegant scholars. In December, 1606, they despatched three ships, having on board one hundred and five emigrants, destined to begin a settlement in South Virginia. Christopher Newport commanded the squadron, and he was accompanied by Captain Gosnold and other distinguished individuals; some allured by curiosity, and some by the prospect of gain, to visit a country said to be inhabited by a new race of beings, and to abound in silver and gold.

A sealed box was delivered to Newport, with directions that it should not be opened until twenty-four hours after the emigrants had landed in America. During the voyage, violent dissensions arose among the principal personages on board the squadron. Of most of them John Smith, one of the adventurers, incurred the distrust and hatred. His superior talents, and the fame he had acquired by his exploits in war, excited their envy, and probably caused him to claim for himself greater deference than they were willing or bound to yield.

In his youth he was a merchant's apprentice. At the age of fifteen, he quitted his master, travelled in Europe and Egypt, and enlisted in the army of Austria, then at war with the Turks. As a reward for a successful stratagem, he received the commission of captain; and afterwards, in three personal combats with Turkish champions, he was victorious, at each time killing his adversary. Being taken prisoner in a subsequent battle, he was compelled to labour as a slave; he killed his master, escaped, and, after again wandering over Europe, returned to England, became acquainted with Gosnold, and was easily persuaded to embark in an expedition to a country he had not yet visited, in search of new scenes and new adventures. While yet at sea, he was accused of an intention to murder the council, usurp the government, and make himself king of Virginia; and upon this absurd accusation was put in confinement.

The place of their destination was the disastrous position at Roanoke. A storm fortunately drove them to the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, which they entered on the 26th of April, 1607. Discovering a large and beautiful river, they gave it the name of James River, ascended it, and on its banks had several interviews with the natives. In one of these a chief

came forward, holding in one hand his bow and arrows, in the other a pipe of tobacco, and demanded the cause of their coming. They made signs of peace, and were received as friends. Paspaha, another chief, when informed of their wish to settle in the country, offered them as much land as they wanted, and sent them a deer for their entertainment.

On the 13th of May, they debarked at a place which they called Jamestown. On opening the sealed box, it was found to contain the names of the council and instructions for their guidance. In the list were the names of Gosnold, Smith, Wingfield, and Newport. Wingfield was elected president, and a vote was passed excluding Smith from his seat at the board. He was, however, released from confinement.

The whole country was then a wilderness, in which a few Indians roamed in pursuit of their enemies, or of wild beasts for food. In colour they were darker than the European, but not so black as the negro. They possessed all the vices and virtues of the savage state; were cunning in stratagem, ferocious in battle, cruel to their conquered enemies, kind and hospitable to their friends. They had no written language; they were unacquainted with the use of iron and the other metals; their weapons of war, were a bow and arrows, a stone hatchet, which they called a tomahawk, and a club. They lived principally by hunting, but sometimes cultivated small patches of Indian corn.

While the men were busy in felling timber, and providing freight for the ships, Newport, Smith, and twenty others ascended James River, and visited the Indian chieftain Powhatan, at his principal seat, just below the present site of Richmond. The savages murmured at this intrusion of strangers; but Powhatan restrained and soothed them. About the middle of June, the ships returned to England, leaving the emigrants to contend with difficulties greater than they had foreseen. They were weak in numbers, without habits of industry, and surrounded by distrusting neighbours. The summer heats were intolerable, and the moisture of the climate generated disease. At one time, nearly all were sick. Provisions were scanty; much of what they had brought with them was damaged; and it was too late to sow or plant. Before autumn, fifty perished, and among them Gosnold, the projector of the settlement.

These dreadful distresses led them to reflect upon their situation and conduct. Having become sensible of their injustice, to Smith, they had, at his request, granted him a trial, which resulted in an honourable acquittal. His personal talents and activity now enforced, in adversity, the same regard and deference which, in prosperous times, are yielded only to official station. By his advice, a fort was erected to protect them

from the attacks of the Indians. To procure provisions and explore the country, he made frequent and distant excursions into the wilderness. In one of these, he seized an Indian idol made of skins stuffed with moss, for the redemption of which as much corn was brought him as he required. Sometimes he procured supplies by caresses, sometimes by purchase, and when these means failed of success, he scrupled not to resort to stratagem and violence.

At this period, the South Sea, now called the Pacific Ocean had been discovered; and the colonists were instructed to seek a communication with it by ascending some stream which flowed from the north-west. This instruction must have been given on the presumption that no great distance intervened between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Chickahominy flowed from the north-west; and Smith, to fulfil those instructions, ascended it as far as it was navigable with boats, and then proceeded on foot. He was surprised by Indians, two of his men killed, and himself made prisoner. His exulting captors conducted him in triumph through several towns, to their king, Powhatan. At the end of six weeks, their chiefs assembled to deliberate on his fate. They decided that he should die. He was led forth to execution; his head was placed upon a stone, and an Indian stood near with a club, the instrument of death. At this instant, Pocahontas, the young and favourite daughter of the king, appeared, and rushing between the executioner and the prisoner, folded his head in her arms, and entreated her father to spare his life. Powhatan relented, directed Smith to be conducted to his wigwam, or hut, and soon afterwards sent him, escorted by twelve guides, to Jamestown.

On his arrival there, he found the number of settlers reduced to thirty-eight; and most of these had determined to abandon the country. By persuasions and threats, he induced a majority to relinquish their design. The remainder, more resolute, went on board a small vessel in the river. Against these he instantly directed the guns of the fort, when, to avoid the danger of being sunk, they hastened back to their companions.

Sustaining now a high reputation among the Indians, he obtained from them occasional supplies of provisions, which preserved the colony from famine. The Princess Pocahontas, also, remembering him whose life she had saved, frequently sent him such articles as were most needed. The settlers were thus enabled to subsist until Captain Newport, who had returned to England, again arrived at Jamestown, with a quantity of provisions, and one hundred and twenty persons, who came to reside in the colony.

All danger being in appearance over, the emigrants no longer submitted to the authority nor listened to the advice of Smith. Disorder and confusion followed; and about this time, that

raging passion for gold, which first impelled Europeans to resort to this country, was again excited. In a stream north of Jamestown, a glittering earth was discovered, which was supposed to be gold dust. "Immediately," says Stith, in his History, "there was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold." And notwithstanding the remonstrances of Smith, a ship was freighted with this worthless commodity and sent to England.

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, and unwilling to be idle, Smith set out on an expedition to explore the coasts of Chesapeake Bay. After an absence of seven weeks, in which he examined all the inlets and rivers as far as the mouth of the Rappahannock, he returned to Jamestown to procure a supply of provisions. He found the people discontented and turbulent. Believing that the president had squandered the public property, they deposed him, and having in vain urged Smith to accept the office, they elected his friend, Mr. Scrivener, vice-president.

Remaining but three days at Jamestown, he again departed to complete his undertaking. He visited all the countries on both shores; he ascended the Potomac, and passed Mount Vernon, and the site of Washington city; he traded with some tribes, fought with others, and left among all the highest admiration of his own character and of that of his nation. In both voyages he sailed nearly three thousand miles. He published an account of the tribes he visited, and of the territory he explored, and constructed a map of the country, upon which all subsequent delineations and descriptions have been formed.

Upon his return, he was chosen president, and consented to accept the office. Under his administration habits of industry and subordination were formed, and peace and plenty smiled upon the colony. Again, in 1608, Newport arrived at Jamestown, and brought with him seventy emigrants, among whom were two females, Mrs. Forrest, and Ann Burras, her maid. Soon after, the latter was married to John Laydon; and this, it is said, was the first marriage of Europeans celebrated in Virginia.

The attention of the English nation, and especially of many of its eminent men, had been attracted to the colony, and they felt a lively sorrow for its misfortunes. Many more of the gentry and nobility, anxious for its success, became members of the company; and in 1609, at the request of the corporation, a new charter was granted. This gave to the stockholders themselves, instead of the king, the power to choose the grand council in England. This council were empowered to appoint a governor and other necessary officers, and to make laws for the government of the colony, not contrary to the laws of

England. The colonists were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural subjects. And to the corporation was granted the absolute property of all the land on the coast, two hundred miles north, and the same distance south, of Point Comfort, and "up into the land, throughout, from sea to sea, west and north-west."

The grand council appointed Lord Delaware governor, and despatched to Virginia nine ships, carrying five hundred emigrants, under the command of Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was commissioned to administer the affairs of the colony until the arrival of Lord Delaware. The vessel carrying the three commissioners was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas; another was sunk; and seven only arrived in Virginia.

A great part of those who came in these vessels "were unruly sparks, packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home. Many were poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes, and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one." They brought information that the old charter was abrogated; and as no one in the settlement had authority from the new corporation, they assumed the power of disposing of the government, conferring it sometimes on one and sometimes on another.

This state of confusion had not continued long, when Smith, with the decision that belongs to vigorous minds, determined that his own authority was not legally revoked until the arrival of the new commission, and resumed, with a strong hand, the reins of government. He boldly imprisoned the leaders of the sedition, and restored for a time regularity and obedience.

The Indians, jealous of the increasing power of the strangers who had invaded their country, concerted a plot to destroy them. Pocahontas, the constant friend of Virginia, hastened in a dark and dreary night, to Jamestown, and informed Smith of his danger. Measures of precaution were instantly taken. The Indians, perceiving that their design was discovered, again brought presents of peace to the English.

Soon after, Smith, having received by accident a severe wound, returned to England to procure the aid of a surgeon. Disastrous consequences followed. The Indians, learning that the man whom they dreaded most had left the colony, attacked it with united forces. A dreadful famine ensued. To such extremity were the settlers reduced, that they devoured the skins of the horses, the bodies of the Indians whom they had killed, and at last those of their own companions, who had sunk under accumulated miseries. These tremendous sufferings were recollected long afterwards with horror, and the

period was remembered and distinguished by the name of the "STARVING TIME."

In six months, the colony, from five hundred persons, was reduced to sixty; and these were exceedingly feeble and dejected. In this situation they were visited by those who had been shipwrecked at Bermudas. All immediately determined to return to England. For this purpose, the remnant of the colony embarked on board the ships just arrived, and sailed down the river. Fortunately they were met by Lord Delaware, who, having brought with him a supply of provisions, persuaded them to return to Jamestown.

All were impressed with a deep sense of the dispensations of Providence, in which grievous sufferings had been tempered by saving mercies. After the solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read. Faction was hushed by the lenity of his administration and the dignity of his virtues. The colonists, who, it must be remembered, were but servants of the company, performed their tasks with alacrity. In the morning they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country; next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The appointed hours of labour were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon till four. Affluence began to return, and the Indians were again taught to respect and fear the English.

But the health of Lord Delaware failing, he returned to England, and was soon after succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. The colony at this time consisted of about two hundred men. The new governor, on the recurrence of disorderly conduct, proclaimed martial law, which was rigidly enforced. He wrote home for new recruits. "Let me," said he, "commend unto your carefulness the pursuit of this business. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil." Sir Thomas Gates was sent over with six ships, three hundred emigrants, and one hundred head of cattle; and he was also appointed to succeed Governor Dale.

In the same year, (1612,) a new charter was granted, by which it was ordained that quarterly general courts, or meetings of all the stockholders, should be held in London, in which all affairs of importance should be determined, and weekly meetings for the transaction of common business. A license to draw lotteries was also granted; and from this source twenty-nine thousand pounds were received into the treasury of the company.

In 1612, Captain Argal, having learned, while on a trading voyage to the Potomac, that Pocahontas was in the neigh-

bourhood, visited and persuaded her to go on board his vessel. He treated her respectfully, but detained and carried her to Jamestown. He presumed that the possession of Pocahontas would give the English an ascendancy over Powhatan, who was known to feel a strong attachment to his daughter. In this, however, he was disappointed. Powhatan, noble by nature, felt indignant at this instance of treachery in the English. He offered a ransom for his daughter, but refused to consent to any terms of peace until she was restored.

During her stay at Jamestown, her beauty, her artless simplicity, and those graces of manner which ever accompany dignity of mind and innocence of heart, won the affections of Mr. Rolfe, a young and respectable planter. He succeeded in producing a reciprocal attachment. They were married with the consent of Powhatan. The consequence of this marriage was peace with her father, and with all the tribes who stood in awe of his power.

Rolfe and his princess made a voyage to England, where she was received by the king and queen with the attention due to her rank. For her virtues, and her disinterested services, she was universally beloved and respected. She died when about to return to America, leaving one son, from whom are descended some of the most respectable families in Virginia.

In 1613, Captain Argal was sent, with a naval force, to drive the French from the settlements they had begun in Acadie, which were considered to be within the limits of North Virginia. He accomplished the object of the expedition, and, when returning, visited a Dutch trading settlement on Hudson's river, which was also within the same limits. The governor, too feeble to resist, acknowledged himself subject to the king of England.

The king, in his instructions given at the time of the first emigration to Jamestown, directed that all the land should be owned in common, and that the produce of the labour of all should be deposited in the public stores. In such circumstances no one would labour with the same steadiness and animation as if he, and he alone, was to possess and enjoy the fruit of his industry. A different regulation was now adopted. To each inhabitant three acres of land were assigned in full property, and he was permitted to employ in the cultivation of it, a certain portion of his time. The effects of this alteration were immediately visible, and demonstrated so clearly its wisdom, that, soon after, another assignment of fifty acres was made; and the plan of working in a common field, to fill the public stores, was entirely abandoned.

Since the year 1611, the colony had been governed by martial law, which was administered by Deputy-Governor Argal

with so much rigour as to excite universal discontent. The council, in England, listening to the complaints of the Virginians, appointed Mr. Yearly governor, and instructed him to inquire into and redress their wrongs. He arrived in April, 1619, and immediately, to the great joy of the inhabitants, called a general assembly of the colony. It met at Jamestown, on the 19th of June, and was composed of delegates from the boroughs, then amounting to seven. They, the governor, and the council, sat and deliberated in the same apartment, and acted as one body. The laws they enacted could not be of force until ratified by the company in England; but this participation in the legislative power gratified the colonists; they forgot their griefs, and ceased to complain. Two years afterwards, the company passed an ordinance establishing a written constitution for the colony. It provided that the governor and a permanent council should be appointed by the corporation; that a general assembly should be convened yearly, to consist of the council and two delegates from each of the boroughs or plantations. No law was to be valid unless approved by the governor and ratified by the company. With great liberality it was also conceded that no regulations of the company should bind the colonists unless ratified by the general assembly.

Emigrants continued to arrive frequently from England, but nearly all were men, who came for the purpose of obtaining wealth, and intended eventually to return. With such views, they were evidently less useful to the colony than if they should be induced to regard it as their home, and as the abode of their posterity. To produce this desirable attachment to the country, ninety girls of spotless character were sent over, at the expense of the company, in the year 1620, and sixty more in the subsequent year. The company required that, when married to planters not in the service of the corporation, the husbands should pay the expense of transportation, which was first established at one hundred, and afterwards at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, then selling at three shillings the pound; and it was ordained that debts contracted for wives should be paid in preference to all others.

About the same time, another measure of a different character was adopted. The company were ordered by the king to transport to Virginia one hundred idle and dissolute persons then in custody for their offences. They were distributed through the colonies, as labourers. Being removed from the temptations which surrounded them in England, and furnished with constant employment, they abandoned their vicious course, and many became useful and respectable citizens. Af-

terwards, banishment to the plantations was not an uncommon punishment for minor offences.

As the company defrayed all the expenses of settling the colony, they reserved the exclusive right of carrying on its commerce. In 1620, they relinquished this monopoly. The free competition produced by this change was advantageous to the colony; but in the absence of restriction, a traffic was introduced disgraceful to civilization, and now afflicting the soul with the constant fear of the terrible visitations of retributive justice. A Dutch vessel brought into James River twenty Africans, who were immediately purchased as slaves.

It is a fact, of sufficient importance to be recorded, that the first attempt to cultivate cotton, now the principal article of export from the republic, was made in the year 1621. The seeds were planted as an experiment, and their "plentiful coming up" was a subject of interest both in America and in England.

The colony was now in the full tide of prosperity. Its numbers had greatly increased, and its settlements were widely extended. At peace with the Indians, it reposed with perfect security, and enjoyed without alloy all the happiness which its fortunate situation and favourable prospects afforded. It was doomed to experience a reverse of fortune, sudden, distressing and terrible.

Powhatan, the friend of the English, was dead. Opecan-canough, a chief endowed with all those qualities which give rank and reputation to an Indian warrior, had succeeded him in his influence and power, but he was the secret and implacable enemy of the whites. By his art and eloquence, he united all the neighbouring tribes in the horrible design of destroying every man, woman, and child in the English settlements.

The plan was concerted and matured with all the secrecy and dissimulation which characterise all the savages. While intent on their plot, they visited the settlements, lodged in the houses, bought arms of the English, and even borrowed their boats to enable them to accomplish their barbarous purpose. On the evening before the fatal day, they brought them presents of game, and the next morning came freely among them, behaving as usual. Suddenly, precisely at midnight, the blow fell, at the same instant, upon the unsuspecting settlers; and three hundred and forty-seven men, women, and children were victims to savage treachery and cruelty.

The massacre would have been more extensive had not a domesticated Indian, residing in one of the villages, revealed the plot to his master, whom he had been solicited to murder. Information was instantly given to some of the nearest settle-

ments, and just in time to save them from the calamity which fell upon the others.

The horrid spectacle before them roused the English from repose to vengeance. A vindictive and exterminating war succeeded. The whites were victorious, destroying many of their enemies, and obliging the remainder to retire into the wilderness. But their own number melted away before the miseries of war; their settlements were reduced from eighty to eight, and famine again visited them with its afflicting scourge. In 1624, out of nine thousand persons, who had been sent from England, but eighteen hundred existed in the colony.

These continual misfortunes furnished to King James a pretext for interfering in the concerns of the company. It contained many men of rank and talents, some belonging to the court and some to the country party; and they were accustomed, in their meetings, to discuss the measures of the crown with all the freedom of a popular body. Several attempts which he had made to controul the decisions of the company had been defeated. He now gave them notice that unless they should surrender their charter, a suit would be instituted to dissolve the corporation. They refused to surrender it; a suit was instituted; and the court of King's Bench, in 1624, dissolved the corporation, and all its powers were revested in the crown.

The king thereupon issued a special commission appointing a governor and twelve councillors, to whom the entire direction of the colony was committed. He began to prepare a code for the colony, but died before he had completed it. His successor, Charles I., appointed Sir George Yeardly governor, to whom, and to his council, he committed the whole legislative and executive power, and instructed them to conform exactly to such orders as should be received from him. They were empowered to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to the public use; and to transport accused colonists to England, to be punished there for crimes committed in Virginia. The king also exacted a monopoly of the trade in tobacco,—almost the only article of export from the colony,—and appointed agents to whose management it was entirely intrusted.

Under such arbitrary regulations the people lived and suffered until the year 1636. Sir John Harvey then held the office of governor. He was haughty, rapacious, unfeeling, and fitted, by his disposition, to exercise power in the spirit of his instructions. The council "thrust him out of office," and appointed Captain John West to officiate until the king's pleasure should be known. And they sent to England two deputies to represent to the king the grievances of the colony and

the governor's misconduct. Harvey consented to go, also, and there meet his accusers.

The king, indignant that his officer should be thus treated by his colonial subjects, received the deputies sternly, and sent back the governor invested with all his former powers. He was, however, superseded, in 1639, by the appointment of Sir Francis Wyatt; and in 1641, Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor. He was respectable for his rank and abilities, and distinguished by his integrity and the mildness of his temper. At this time, dissension existed between the king and the parliament; and soon after the civil war began, which, continuing several years, ended in the execution of the king, and the establishment of the commonwealth, with Cromwell for Protector of its liberties. During this war, many Cavaliers, as the adherents of the king were called, sought refuge from danger in Virginia, or repaired thither after being ruined by misfortunes and casualties inseparable from civil commotions. Nearly the whole of the population entertained the same religious opinions as themselves, and they found in Berkeley a man of courtly manners and congenial political sentiments; and so popular was he with all the people, and so judicious and correct was his administration of public affairs, that the colonists, through all the troubles in England, adhered to the royal cause, and continued faithful even after the king was dethroned, and his son driven into exile.

Virginia was not free from the intolerant spirit of the age. In 1643, it was specially ordered that no minister should preach, or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the Church of England, and non-conformists were banished from the colony. Certain ministers of Boston, having come by invitation to Virginia, to preach to Puritan congregations there, were silenced by those in authority, and compelled to leave the country.

In 1649, Charles the First was beheaded, and the house of lords suppressed. The house of commons, now exercising the supreme power of England, was not disposed to permit its authority to be questioned in Virginia. In 1652, a fleet, under Sir George Ayscue, was sent to reduce it to obedience. Berkeley collected a force to resist this fleet; but foreseeing that resistance would be unavailing, he agreed to capitulate, and obtained the most favourable terms for himself and the colony. Retiring from all public affairs, he lived beloved and respected by the people. Richard Bennett, who, under the administration of Berkeley, had been compelled to leave Virginia, and who had now returned in the fleet, was chosen governor by the assembly.

So long as the house of commons and the Protector retained the control over England, Virginia appears to have

been ruled by governors professing the same political principles; yet no public demonstration was made of attachment to Cromwell. Churchmen and Cavaliers, unwilling to remain where their adversaries in religion as well as politics reigned triumphant, continued to flock to the colony. Virginia was, therefore, less favoured by the paramount government than New England, whose inhabitants, like the predominant party in Great Britain, were republicans in politics and Puritans in religion. At length the sudden death of Governor Matthews in March, 1660, afforded the adherents of the royal cause a favourable opportunity, which they gladly seized, to invite Berkeley to resume the authority of governor. He was elected by the assembly, accepted the office, and Charles II., who was restored and proclaimed king a few months afterwards, immediately sent him a royal commission. He was instructed to summon an assembly, and to give assurance of the king's intention to grant pardon to all who were not attainted by parliament, provided all acts passed during the rebellion, derogating from the obedience due to the king, should be repealed.

The assembly, when met, proceeded to revise the laws, assigning, as a motive, their wish "to expunge all unnecessary acts, and chiefly such as might keep in memory their forced deviation from his majesty's obedience." The Church of England was established by law, and no one was permitted to preach unless ordained by some bishop in England. The day of the execution of Charles I. was ordered to be kept as a fast, and the anniversaries of the birth and of the restoration of Charles II. to be celebrated as holy-days. Other laws, regulating the interior affairs of the colony, were passed; among which was one to encourage the manufacture of silk. Every person was enjoined to plant a number of mulberry trees proportioned to his quantity of land; and a premium of fifty pounds of tobacco was promised for every pound of silk manufactured.

An act was also passed ordaining that all Quakers should be banished from the colony; and that those who should obstinately persist in returning, should be prosecuted as felons. In 1663, John Porter, one of the burgesses, was represented to the assembly as being "loving to the Quakers." He confessed he was well affected towards them; upon which the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to him, which he refused to take, and was expelled.

Charles II., with characteristic ingratitude, neglected the interests of the colony which had been faithful to him beyond all others. He imposed restrictions upon its commerce, and granted to his favourites large tracts of land which belonged to the colony. Exorbitant taxes were levied, and the avails

appropriated to pay extravagant salaries, or foolishly squandered. The people became discontented and clamorous; and rumours of Indian hostilities, from which the government took no active measures to defend them, induced them to take up arms, which they felt as well disposed to use to relieve themselves from oppression as to resist or attack the savages.

In this state of excitement and alarm, the people looked around for a leader; and their attention was soon fixed upon Nathaniel Bacon. He was young, had been educated in London as a lawyer, had recently emigrated to Virginia, and established himself on a plantation near Richmond. He soon became distinguished for his eloquence, activity, and talents; and though "popularly inclined," and for that reason distrusted by the governor, was, after a short residence in the colony, appointed a member of the council. He partook of the general excitement, mingled with the people, and was chosen their leader. He immediately communicated to the governor all the circumstances attending his election, and requested that a commission might be issued confirming it. In expectation of receiving this commission, he collected about six hundred men, and marched at their head against the Indians. But the governor, instead of granting the commission, issued a proclamation commanding the insurgents to disperse, on pain of being punished as traitors; and he moreover summoned to his standard such men as were yet faithful, and pursued them. He had not proceeded far when intelligence overtook him of a formidable insurrection in the neighbourhood of Jamestown. He returned to the capital, and there found that the inhabitants of the central and lower countries had risen in arms, and, under the command of Ingram and Walklate, were exercising the powers of government.

The haughty spirit of the governor was compelled to stoop to concession. He granted some of the demands of the insurgents, dissolved the old assembly, which had become unpopular, and issued writs for a new election. In this election, the malcontents were successful,—a strong proof that the people were suffering under oppression,—and Bacon himself was chosen a member from Henrico. In the mean time, he had surprised some of the suspected Indians, and made them prisoners; and hearing, on his return, of the insurrection at Jamestown, he left his army, and set out, with a few followers, for that place, hoping to procure the recall of the proclamation. On his way, he was taken prisoner, and sent as such to Jamestown.

The new assembly was then in session, and Bacon was surrounded by his friends. The proclamation was recalled, and Bacon admitted to his seat in the council; but the go-

vernor refused to grant him the commission of general. Fearing treachery, he secretly withdrew, collected and harangued the people, and in a few days reappeared in the city at the head of five hundred men. The governor advancing towards the troops, and baring his breast, cried, "A fair mark! shoot!" "I will not," said Bacon, "hurt a hair of your head, nor of any man's; we are come for the commission, to save our lives from the Indians." The governor at length yielded, signed the commission, and Bacon and his followers again prepared to march against the savages.

A transient calm succeeded; but when the troops were on the point of marching, the wounded pride of the governor impelled him to issue another proclamation, denouncing Bacon as a traitor. Bacon then requested the people to meet in convention at Williamsburg, to devise means to rescue the colony from the tyranny of Berkeley. The convention met, many distinguished men attending it, and an oath was taken by all present to assist General Bacon, not only in his war with the Indians, but against all his enemies. He and his troops then marched into the country of the savages, met them near the falls of James River, attacked and defeated them.

In the mean time, the governor, who had retired to Accomac, gained, by stratagem, possession of several armed vessels which lay in the river, and collected a force of six hundred men, with which he resolved to recover his former authority. He entered the capital without difficulty; but Bacon, returning from his Indian expedition, compelled him to abandon it. He then set it on fire, and it was wholly consumed. Berkeley returned to Accomac. Bacon dismissed his followers, exacting from them a promise to return to his standard on the first notice of any new attempt of the governor to disturb the public tranquillity. Shortly afterwards he was taken sick and died; and, no person being found among the insurgents qualified to supply his place as the general of an army or as a popular leader, they laid down their arms and dispersed.

Governor Berkeley again assumed the supreme authority, and finding the rebels in his power, pursued them with unsparing rigour. His nature seems to have been changed; nothing gave him so much delight as the sufferings of his defenceless victims. Many were tried by courts martial and executed. The assembly at length interfered, praying him to stop the work of death, and enacted laws which gradually restored tranquillity. Soon after, Sir William returned to England, expecting to receive the applause of his sovereign, with whom he had been a favourite; but he received censure for his cruelty, which inflicted so deep a wound as to cause his death a few months after he landed. His authority de-

volved upon Colonel Jeffreys, the lieutenant-governor, by whom peace was concluded with the Indians; and thus was removed one of the causes which prevented the prosperity of the colony.

Just after the execution of Charles I., a grant was made to a company of Cavaliers of that part of Virginia called the Northern Neck; in 1669, this grant was surrendered, and another issued for the same territory to Lord Culpepper, who had purchased the shares of the company; and in 1673, Charles II., with thoughtless prodigality, made to the same lord, and to the earl of Arlington, the lavish grant of "all the dominion of land and water called Virginia," for the full term of thirty-one years. These grants were among the causes of the discontent which preceded Bacon's rebellion. Lord Culpepper, represented as one of the most cunning and covetous men in England, was afterwards appointed governor for life, and arrived in the colony early in the year 1680. He persuaded the assembly, at its first session, to pass an act imposing a perpetual export duty of two shillings a hogshead on tobacco, the proceeds to be applied to the support of government, and to be accounted for, not to the assembly, but to the king. Thus was the colony deprived of the strongest safeguard of liberty, and the most efficient check to the tyranny of rulers.

Lord Culpepper was not less careful of his own interests than of those of the crown. The salary of governor was before one thousand pounds; for him, being a peer, it was doubled; and an additional grant of one hundred and sixty pounds was made for house-rent. After spending the summer thus profitably in Virginia, he embarked, in August, for London.

The price of tobacco, the chief product of the colony, was continually falling; the taxes were continually increasing; of course, distress was felt, and murmurs followed. To remedy the evil of the depreciation of tobacco, the project was discussed of uniting with Maryland in forbidding the planting of it for one year. As this could not be effected in time, bands of people visited different parts of the colony, and destroyed the young plants, when it was too late to replace them. It cannot be doubted that severe suffering drove the people to this violation of law, as absurd as it was criminal. Several of these plant-cutters, as they were called, were tried, convicted, and hung.

At the command of the king, Lord Culpepper returned to the colony; he restored quiet, not by granting relief, but by increase of severity. Again leaving the colony, and neglecting for some time to return to it, his commission was taken from him, and Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed his successor. The Virginians hoped to derive benefit from the

change, but were disappointed. Lord Howard, like most of the governors sent from England to the colonies, came, not to promote the prosperity of his people, but to retrieve his fortune, or to gratify his avarice; and his conduct was in conformity with his views.

But yet Virginia continued to increase in population, and doubtless also in wealth. The climate was agreeable, the land fertile, and various causes impelled various classes of people—the unfortunate, the oppressed, the dissatisfied, and the adventurous—to repair thither. Under James II., many, convicted of political offences, and many rogues and pilferers, were transported to the colony, and indented to the planters. In 1688, the population was estimated at 60,000. Nearly all of these were actual labourers; and labour upon a virgin soil yielded rich returns.

The people, even at this late period, did not live in towns nor villages: a cluster of three houses was not often witnessed. They dwelt in lonely cottages scattered along the streams, or on pathways rather than roads. These cottages were of wood, often of logs, and most of them without windows of glass. Visits were made in boats or on horseback, and the traveller paid his expenses, when he paid any thing, in tobacco. Many parishes were a day's journey in extent; and numbers lived so remote from churches that they seldom visited them. No schools existed; learning was therefore a distinction confined to the few who had been educated in England, or who had parents able and willing to perform the task of teacher. No printing-press was allowed; few books were accessible; no newspaper came daily or weekly to enliven the monotony of the family, to enlighten the intellect, nor to cherish the noble or excite the baneful passions. A few of the planters were wealthy, and, surrounded by indented servants and slaves, lived like feudal barons. The lofty spirit of the colonists often impelled them to resist oppression when it became intolerable; but their veneration for the monarch and the church blinded them to the encroachments of power, and led them to surrender, without knowing it, the surest safeguards of liberty.

From this time to the commencement of the French war of 1756, an account of which will be found in a subsequent chapter, but few events occurred in the colony of sufficient importance to find a place in history. Its position, remote from the settlements of the French in Canada, and of the Spaniards in Florida, was favourable to its quiet. New England and New York on the one hand, Georgia and the Carolinas on the other, protected it from savage incursions. Its affairs were administered by governors appointed by the king, and representatives chosen by the people.

The laudable efforts of these representatives to arrest the progress of slavery in the colony, ought not to be passed over in silence. Convinced of its inhumanity, and foreseeing the dreadful evils which it must produce, they often passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves; but those who were higher in authority, yielding to the wishes of merchants engaged in the traffic, persisted, with criminal obstinacy, in withholding their assent. England, not America, is responsible for the wretchedness, which her kings and her officers were often importuned, but refused, to avert.

CHAPTER III.

MASSACHUSETTS.

It has already been stated, that to the Plymouth Company, so called because the principal members resided in and near Plymouth in England, was granted all the country between the southern boundary of New York and the Bay of Passamaquoddy. This country, at that time, was called North Virginia. In 1606, the company despatched a ship to make discoveries within the limits of its grant. Before the voyage was completed, she was captured by the Spaniards, who claimed the exclusive right of navigating the seas of the new hemisphere. Another ship, afterwards sent for the same purpose, brought back such favourable accounts of the territory, that the company were encouraged to make further efforts.

The next year, two ships, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, were sent over with forty-five men, to establish a plantation under the presidency of George Popham. Those most active in despatching this expedition were Popham, chief justice of England, and Gorges, governor of Plymouth. The men landed near the mouth of the Kennebec, called their settlement St. George, and the ships returned home. The winter was intensely cold; the emigrants, by an accidental fire, lost a part of their provisions; they grew weary of their solitude; and, in 1608, returned to England, in ships which brought them provisions and succours.

For several years, no more emigrants were sent over; but vessels often came to fish on the coast, and the traffic with the Indians in furs was pursued with profit. In 1614, John Smith, the same who acted a conspicuous part in the settlement of Virginia, engaged, with four others, in a trading adventure on their own account, and sailed to the coast of Maine. While some of the men were fishing, he surveyed the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, carrying on, at the

same time, a traffic in furs with the Indians. What is now Cape Ann he called Tragabigzanda, in honour of the Turkish lady to whom he had formerly been a slave; the three small islands, near this cape, he called the Three Turks' Heads, in honor of his victory over the three Turkish champions. He discovered the islands now called the Isles of Shoals and named them Smith's Isles. On his return to England, after a profitable voyage of seven months' duration, he presented to Prince Charles a map of the country, and gave him such a glowing description of its beauty and excellence, that he, in the warmth of his admiration, declared it should bear the name of NEW ENGLAND.

Smith afterwards made an attempt to transport a colony thither, which was unsuccessful: and New England might long have remained the abode of wild beasts and savages only, had not motives more powerful than the love of gain, or of perilous adventures, impelled men, differing from all others who had been the founders of colonies, to select it as the place of their residence.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, James the First asserted and maintained a despotic power over the consciences of his English subjects. All who presumed to dissent from the creed which he had adopted were persecuted with extreme rigour. In that age, the maxim was avowed by ecclesiastics of all sects, as well as politicians, that uniformity in religion was essential to the repose of society, and that it was therefore the right and duty of every sovereign to preserve it in his dominions, by the exercise of all his powers of restraint and punishment.

But free inquiry had lately received such an impulse from the success of Luther and the other reformers, that the civil authority was unable to arrest or control it. Various sects arose, dissenting from the established religion, and all distinguished by their democratic tenets respecting church government. Persecuted at home, a small number, belonging to a sect which were afterwards called Independents, determined to remove to Protestant Holland, which had lately, after a long contest, succeeded, by the aid of England, in achieving its independence of Catholic Spain. They composed a congregation, whose pastor was the Rev. John Robinson, and whose ruling elder was William Brewster, who had served as a diplomatist in Holland. Their first attempt to leave their country was resisted and prevented by officers of the government. The next spring, 1608, they assembled on an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, to prepare to embark in the night. The weather was tempestuous, and while a part were on their way in boats to the ship, a troop of horsemen appeared, and seized the women and children, who had not yet ad-

ventured on the surf. But these were released by the magistrates, the men having got beyond their reach, and were permitted to depart with their husbands and fathers.—Such was the beginning of the wanderings of the Pilgrims.

They remained at Amsterdam one year, and then removed to Leyden. In this seat of learning, they were regarded and treated with high respect. In the disputes against Arminianism, Robinson was selected as the champion of Orthodoxy. But their residence there soon became unpleasant. For their support, many were compelled to learn mechanical trades. They feared lest the dissolute manners of the disbanded soldiers and sailors should contaminate their children; and more that, by intermarriages with the Hollanders, the little band should melt away, and the true faith be lost. They heard, in their retreat, of the voyages of Gosnold, Smith, and Hudson; of the enterprises of Raleigh, Delaware, and Gilbert; and resolved to seek, in the New World, a place of abode for themselves alone, where none could molest nor contaminate them, and into which error could not enter.

They despatched Robert Cushman and John Carver to England, to obtain a grant of land from the London or South Virginia Company. These agents carried with them a letter from Robinson and Brewster. "We are well weaned," said they, "from the delicate milk of the mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; we are knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which we hold ourselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole. It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, and small discontents cause to wish themselves home again."

A grant was promised; but the king declined giving an explicit assurance that they should enjoy their religious opinions unmolested. The most they could obtain was an intimation that he would forbear to molest them. The agents returned to consult the congregation. They concluded, after deliberation, to proceed. A grant was obtained; and an arrangement was made with merchants of London to furnish the means of transportation. Two small ships were provided; but as these could not carry the whole congregation, it was determined that Robinson and a part of the brethren should remain, for the present, at Leyden, and that Brewster, the elder, should conduct the emigrants. They were to repair to Southampton, in England, and to sail thence for America.

Before their departure from Leyden, a solemn fast was held. "I charge you before God and his blessed angels," said Robinson, in his farewell sermon, "that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy

word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation.—Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God.—I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

Most of the brethren accompanied the emigrants to the harbour, when Robinson, kneeling in prayer by the sea side, gave to their embarkation the sanctity of a religious rite. At Southampton, they went on board the *Speedwell* and *Mayflower*, and set sail for America. But they had not gone far from land when some became disheartened, and the captain of the *Speedwell* pretended that his ship was too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, and left behind them all the hesitating and the timid. On the 6th of September, 1620, the *Mayflower*, bearing the most resolute, consisting in the whole of one hundred and two persons, took her final departure for America.

The captain was directed to steer for Hudson's River, near which the land which had been granted to them was situated; but the Dutch, who claimed the exclusive right of trading in that region, had promised him a reward when in Holland, if he would carry them farther north. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-five days, during which one person died, they entered the harbour of Cape Cod.

Some symptoms of faction having appeared among the servants on the voyage, a solemn voluntary compact, after mature deliberation, was formed, to serve as a basis of government. "In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering, and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

All the men, forty-one in number, signed this first of written constitutions; and John Carver was unanimously chosen governor for the year.

The emigrants were well aware that they were beyond the

limits of the South Virginia Company; but it was now too late in the season to put again to sea; and they determined to land at the first place they could find suitable for a settlement. While exploring the coast, they suffered much from cold and fatigue. At length, on the 11th of December, old style, they landed at a place which they called New Plymouth. Here and around all was desolate and gloomy. The ocean, sterile sands, and dismal forests, were the only objects that met their view. The severity of the cold, greater than they had ever experienced, admonished them to seek protection against it; and their first employment was the erection of huts in the most convenient and sheltered situations. In these miserable abodes they passed the winter—those at least who survived it. By the succeeding spring, one half of their number had perished, exhausted by continual suffering, and by the privation of every worldly comfort which they had been accustomed to enjoy.

Among those who died was John Carver, the governor; William Bradford was chosen his successor. The next spring, other emigrants came, but unprovided with food; and for six months the whole colony was put upon half allowance. Once they were saved from famishing by the benevolence of fishermen off the coast; sometimes they were compelled to pay exorbitant prices for provisions; but, in a few years, their provident care in cultivating the earth secured to them a sufficiency of food.

The Indians who dwelt in the vicinity of the settlement were not numerous. Massasoit, sachem of the Wampanoags, whose territory lay between Taunton and Providence Rivers, came to visit them. He had had some intercourse with English traders, and was desirous of opening a traffic with the settlement; and, being at war with the Narragansetts, he was moreover anxious to strengthen himself by securing the friendship of the English. A treaty was made which was long and faithfully observed. Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansetts, at first proffered friendship, but afterwards sent a bundle of arrows wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, in token of defiance. Bradford sent back the skin stuffed with powder and ball, and the sachem, terrified, then solicited peace.

Upon application of the emigrants, the Plymouth Company made them a grant of land; but they were never incorporated by the king. Their voluntary compact was their only charter. To aid their governor, they chose, at first five, and afterwards seven, assistants. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden; but the remainder of his people, and with them his wife children, emigrated to New Plymouth. In the year their whole number amounted to three hundred.

In the mean time, the same causes that drove Mr. Robinson and his congregation from England had continued to operate. A class of dissenters, denominated Puritans from the austerity of their manners, and from their claims to superior purity in worship and discipline, had become numerous; and as, by their new mode of worship, they violated the laws of the land, they were prosecuted as criminals. Their faith was confirmed and their zeal increased by their sufferings; and having learned that complete religious freedom was enjoyed at New Plymouth, in America, they naturally directed their thoughts to that country as a secure asylum from persecution.

In 1628, an association of men of that sect, residing at Dorchester and London, was formed for the purpose of planting a colony in New England, to which they and "the best" of their brethren might repair, and in seclusion and safety worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Among them were Endicott, Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Saltonstall, and Bellingham—names afterwards distinguished in early colonial annals. They availed themselves, by purchase, of a grant made by the Plymouth Company to two of their number and others, of a tract of land now constituting a part of the state of Massachusetts, and sent over, under the direction of John Endicott, a small number of people to begin a plantation. These, in September, landed at a place called, by the Indians, Naumkeag, and by themselves, Salem; a place which had before been selected by Roger Conant, an enthusiast of courage and energy.

The next year, they obtained a charter from the crown, by which the usual powers of a corporation were conferred upon the grantees, by the name of the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." It ordained, that the officers of the company should be a governor, a deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, to be named, in the first instance, by the crown, and afterwards elected by the corporation. Four stated meetings of all the members were to be held annually, under the denomination of the General Court, at which they were authorized to admit freemen or members, and to make such ordinances or laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, as they might deem expedient. The colonists, and their descendants, were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural born English subjects.

At a General Court, held at London, in 1629, the officers prescribed by the charter were elected, and several ordinances were adopted for the government of the company. In their instructions to Endicott, they say, "If any of the salvages pretence to all or any part of the lands granted, may you endeavour to purchase their title,

that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives." Two hundred people were sent over, increasing the number to three hundred, of whom, one hundred, dissatisfied with the situation of Salem, removed to Charlestown. Religion was the first object of their care in the country which they had adopted. A religious covenant was agreed upon, and a confession of faith drawn up, to which their assent was given. Pastors were chosen, and were, from necessity, installed into their sacred offices by the imposition of the hands of the brethren.

Among the emigrants were two, John Brown and Samuel Brown, who insisted upon the use of the liturgy of the Episcopal church. Both were members of the colonial council, and were favourites of the corporation in England. But it was to escape from bishops, and the forms and ceremonies of that church, that they had abandoned their native land. Should not the forests of Massachusetts be safe from the intrusion of the persecuting and dreaded hierarchy? The charter conferred on the company the right of expelling from the land they had purchased any person whose presence might be deemed prejudicial to its welfare. Endicott sent back the Browns to England in the returning ships.

The ensuing winter was a period of uncommon suffering and sickness. The cold was intense; the houses were unfinished; the provisions were insufficient and unwholesome. Before spring, nearly half their number perished, "lamenting that they could not live to see the rising glories of the faithful."

These calamities had some effect in deterring others from joining them; but the consideration that the general courts were held, the officers elected, and the laws enacted, in London, had still greater influence. It did not comport with the views and feelings of those who disdained to submit to authority in matters of faith, to consent to remove to the New World, and there be governed by laws which they could have no part in enacting. Representations to this effect were made to the company, who resolved that the government and patent should be removed to Massachusetts.

This wise resolution gave such encouragement to emigration, that, in 1630, more than fifteen hundred persons came over, and founded Boston and several adjacent towns. Of those persons, all were respectable, and many were from illustrious and noble families. Having been accustomed to a life of ease and enjoyment, their sufferings, the first year, were great, and proved fatal to many; among others, to the *Arabella*, who, to use the words of an early historian of the country, "came from a paradise of plenty and pl

the family of a noble earl, into a wilderness of wants, and, although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and, in about a month after her arrival, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed." Mr. Johnson, her husband, overcome with grief, survived her but a short time.

Before December, two hundred perished. On the 24th of that month, the cold became intense. Such a Christmas eve they had never before known. Yet the inclemency of the weather continued to increase. They were almost destitute of provisions, and many were obliged to subsist on clams, muscles, and other shell-fish, with nuts and acorns instead of bread. Many more died; but, in this extremity, the ardour of conviction which compelled them to emigrate, remained in full force, and they met, with a firm, unshaken spirit, the calamities which assailed them.

One great object of the Puritans, in retiring to the unoccupied regions of New England, was the establishment of a religious commonwealth, as nearly upon the model of that of the Jews as the difference of circumstances would admit. To accomplish this object, they deemed it necessary, and at a general court, held in 1631, they ordained, that none but those who had made a profession of religion, and had become members of some church, should be admitted members of the corporation, or enjoy the privilege of voting.

This law has been too severely censured by those who have lived in more liberal and enlightened times. It contradicted none of the professions of the Puritans. It was in strict accordance with the avowed motives of their emigration. It exhibited less intolerance than was then displayed by every other nation. It violated the rights of no one, for no one could claim a right to come into the territory which they had purchased. And it was doubtless essential—such was then the temper of men's minds—to the repose of their little society.

The colonists had frequently been alarmed, but never yet attacked, by the Indians. These were not, in fact, in a condition to do much injury. A few years before the arrival of the English, a contagious distemper swept away a great number, almost exterminating several tribes. In 1633, the small-pox destroyed many who had survived the pestilence; and the territory contiguous to the first settlements of the English seemed to have been providentially made vacant for their reception. As an attack from this quarter was, however, possible, and as the French, who had a trading establishment at Acadia, had discovered some symptoms of hostility, it was thought advisable to erect fortifications at Boston and to open a correspondence with their
th.

So far from the capital had the settlements extended, that it was found extremely inconvenient for all the freemen to assemble and transact the necessary public business. In 1634, the mode of legislation was altered by the general consent of the towns. They delegated to twenty-four representatives the authority granted, by the charter, to the whole body of freemen. This important alteration was adopted the more readily, as the emigrants had been familiar, in their native country, with the representative system. The appellation of General Court, which had been applied to all the freemen when assembled, was now transferred to their representatives.

In 1631, a young clergyman, Roger Williams, arrived at Boston from England, a fugitive from persecution. He was gifted as a preacher, singular in many of his notions, and fond of manifesting his singularities. He, as well as those among whom he came, entertained the opinion that every man had a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; and he had the merit of going even a step farther, believing that the civil authority had no right to enact any law whatever in regard to religion. The people of Salem desired him for their teacher, but were dissuaded by the magistrates of Boston from electing him; and he withdrew to New Plymouth. Upon the death of the Rev. Mr. Shelton, of Salem, he returned to that town, and was then chosen its pastor. His singularities then became important in the eyes of the magistrates of the colony. He had refused, and taught others to refuse, to take the freeman's oath; he caused the church of Salem to send letters of admonition to the church at Boston, and several others, accusing the magistrates, who were members, of divers offences, and admitting no church to be pure but that of Salem; he persuaded Mr. Endicott to cut the cross out of the king's colours, as being a relic of anti-christian superstition; and many of the militia refused to train under colours so mutilated. Much uneasiness and excitement were occasioned by his conduct; and, endeavours made to reclaim him failing of success, he was banished. He repaired at first to Seekonk, and afterwards to Providence, and became the founder of Rhode Island.

In 1635, Massachusetts received from England a large number of inhabitants; and among them came two who afterwards acted conspicuous parts in the affairs of their native country. One was Peters, who was subsequently a chaplain of Oliver Cromwell; the other was Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane. The latter was but twenty-five years of age; but, by his show of great humility, his grave and solemn deportment, and his ardent professions of attachment to liberty, he stole the hearts of the Puritans, and, the year, after his arrival, was made governor of the colony.

His popularity, however, was transient. During his administration, the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson, a woman who was distinguished for her eloquence, and had imbibed the enthusiasm of the age, instituted weekly meetings for persons of her own sex, in which she commented on the sermons of the preceding Sunday, and advanced certain mystical and extravagant doctrines. These spread rapidly among the people, and many become converts.

Governor Vane, with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelright, two distinguished clergymen, embraced them with ardour; but Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, and a majority of the churches, deemed them heretical and seditious. Great excitement was produced among the people; many conferences were held; public fasts were appointed; a general synod was summoned; and, after much intemperate discussion, her opinions were determined to be erroneous, and she and some of her adherents were banished from the colony.

Not being again chosen governor, Vane returned in disgust to England, engaged in the civil wars, which soon after afflicted that country, sustained high offices in the republican party, and, after the restoration of Charles II, was accused of high treason, convicted, and executed. Peters pursued a similar career, and met with the same fate.

Among those who belonged to the party of Vane and Mr. Hutchinson, were the Rev. John Wheelwright, who was her brother, John Clark, and William Coddington. Wheelwright removed beyond the limits of the colony, and founded Exeter, in New Hampshire. Clark and Coddington, intending to settle in Long Island or Delaware Bay, proceeded south; but meeting with Roger Williams, he persuaded them to remain with him, and they purchased Aquetneck, now called Rhode Island, of the chief of the Narragansetts. At the same time, Williams obtained from the Indians a deed of the land where Providence is situated.

By the settlement of Massachusetts, the attention of emigrants was diverted from the colony of Plymouth, where the soil was less fertile. It nevertheless continued to increase, though slowly, in population. In 1636, a body of laws was adopted by the colony, styled "The General Fundamentals." By the first article, they enact "that no act, imposition, law or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free liberties of the free-born people of England." The opinion then entertained of the relation between the colony and the mother country is here fully indicated. There could hardly be a more distinct entire independence. In 1624, the assembly of

Virginia had voted that the governor should lay no taxes upon that colony without the consent of the general assembly.

The government of Plymouth, which had before carried on a profitable trade with the Indians on Connecticut River, principally in beaver and otter skins, determined, at their solicitation, to establish a trading house among them. The house was framed at Plymouth in 1633, and sent round by water. The Dutch, who had a settlement at New York, and claimed, the country on that river, heard of this project of the English, and, determining to anticipate them, hastily despatched a party, who built a slight fort at Hartford. When the Plymouth vessel, carrying the frame of the house, came near this fort, "the Dutch stood by their ordnance, threatened hard, but did not shoot." The vessel passed up, and the house was erected at Windsor. This was the first dwelling-house erected within the boundaries of Connecticut. In 1635, about sixty persons, from Dorchester, Watertown, and Newtown, intending to settle on Connecticut River, travelled thither through the woods, being fourteen days on their journey. Those from Dorchester settled at Windsor, those from Watertown at Weathersfield, and those from Newtown at Hartford. The next year, Hooker and Stone, ministers of Newtown, with their whole church and congregation, removed to Hartford. And William Pynchon and others, going from Roxbury settled at Springfield. Plymouth complained of this interference of the people of Massachusetts, and the emigrants from Dorchester paid them a compensation for their claims. In 1637, Eaton, Davenport, Hopkins, and others from London, arrived at Boston, in search of a place for a settlement. They selected Quinnipiac, now New Haven, removed thither the next year, and they, and those who afterwards joined them, formed, for several years, a separate colony.

The rapid progress of the English settlements excited the jealousy of the natives. They had welcomed, without fear, the emigrants who first landed, not anticipating their future encroachments, and desirous of exchanging what to them was almost worthless for articles like those which they had obtained from travellers who had visited the coast, and which they valued highly. The experience of a few years convinced them that they must either exterminate these invaders of their country, or be themselves exterminated.

Within the boundaries of Rhode Island and Connecticut lived two warlike tribes, the Pequods and Narragansetts. The former were hostile, the latter friendly, to the whites. Between the two tribes an inveterate enmity existed; but the more sagacious and politic Pequods proposed that all animosities should be forgotten, and their united strength di-

rected against their invaders, before they had become too strong to be resisted. At first the Narragansetts wavered; but their hatred of the Pequods overpowered the suggestions of policy. They disclosed the proposal to the English, and invited them to join in a war against their common enemy.

The colonies were roused to a sense of their danger. In 1637, Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to unite their forces, and attempt the entire destruction of the Pequods. Captain Mason, with eighty men, principally from Connecticut, and three hundred friendly Indians, was immediately sent into the country of the enemy. Early in the morning of the 26th of May, he attacked one of the principal villages, which had been surrounded with palisades. The resistance was brave and obstinate, and the issue of the battle for some time doubtful; but the whites, forcing their way into the enclosure, set fire to the wigwams, and then, retreating a short distance, surrounded the town. Many of the Indians perished in the flames; others were shot in their attempts to flee. Of five or six hundred within the enclosure, but few escaped. The English troops, of whom two were killed and sixteen wounded, returned in triumph to Hartford.

In June, another body of troops, principally from Massachusetts, marched into the enemy's country, surrounded a swamp, into which a party of them had retired, and took eighty captive. Some escaping, they were pursued to another swamp, situated near New Haven, where the whole strength of the tribe was collected. This was, in like manner, surrounded; a sharp contest ensued; but the whites were again victorious. Two hundred Pequods were killed or made prisoners. The remainder fled to the country of the Mohawks. The brilliant success of the English, in this first and short war with the natives, gave the neighbouring tribes such an exalted idea of their prowess, that, for nearly forty years, they were neither attacked nor molested.

Ten years had now elapsed since the first settlement was made at Salem. It has been computed that, within that time, twenty-one thousand persons arrived in Massachusetts. The dissenters in England having obtained the ascendancy in the government, all motives for emigration ceased; and it is supposed that, for many years afterwards, more persons returned to England, than came from England to the colonies.

Such, however, were the character and virtues of the emigrants, such the power over difficulties which their resolute minds, and bodies hardened by labour, had imparted to them, that they continued to increase, with astonishing rapidity, in wealth and numbers; and a vote of the house of commons, stating that "the plantations in New England had had good and prosperous success, but any public charge to the

state," is quoted, by an historian of those times, as an honourable testimony of the high merit of the colonists.

Circumstances and events had already impressed a character upon them, which, though softened in its worst features by the progress of refinement, still distinguishes their descendants. Persecution made them bigots; piety made them moral; poverty made them frugal; incessant toil made them hardy and robust; dreary solitudes made them gloomy and superstitious; their numerous clergy and well-educated leaders made them venerate literature and the sciences.

The dangers apprehended from the Dutch at New York, from the French in Nova Scotia and Acadia, and from the Indians, led to discussions on the expediency of forming a league between the several colonies of New England. It was first proposed in 1637; in 1638, articles were drawn up, but they were not satisfactory to all; in 1643, a confederacy was formed between Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was agreed that each colony should appoint two commissioners, who should assemble annually, by rotation, in the respective colonies; that the agreement of six should bind the whole; that they should have power to make ordinances relative to intercourse between the English and the Indians, to fugitives from one colony to another, and to other matters of like nature. In case of war, the respective colonies were bound, upon the application of three magistrates of the invaded colony, to furnish aid, Massachusetts a hundred men, and the other three colonies forty-five each. The expenses of a war were to be apportioned according to the number of male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years.

In consequence of this league, the colonies were more respected and feared by their civilized and savage neighbours. Several Indian sachems came in, and submitted to the English. Massachusetts had had a long and troublesome dispute with D'Aulney, the French governor of Acadia, which, in 1644, was adjusted by a treaty concluded between him and Governor Endicott, and afterwards ratified by the commissioners.

When representatives were first chosen, they sat and voted in the same chamber with the assistants. In 1635, when Mr. Hooker applied for permission to form a settlement on Connecticut River, a majority of the assistants voted against granting permission; but a majority of the whole assembly was in favour of it. The representatives contended that a majority of the assistants was not necessary, and that the vote had passed in the affirmative. The assistants claimed to be a distinct branch of the legislature, and contended that it had passed in the negative.

No provision having been made for a case of

adjournment for a week took place; a public fast was appointed, and the divine direction implored in all the congregations. When the assembly again met, a sermon was preached by Mr. Cotton, which induced the representatives to yield to the claim of the assistants. In 1644, the dispute was renewed, and the assistants were again victorious. The representatives then proposed that the two classes should sit apart, and form distinct bodies; and in this proposition the assistants concurred.

The contest between the king and parliament at length resulted in open war; and the New England colonies, actuated by the same feeling as the Puritans in England, embraced with ardour the cause of the latter. The parliament rewarded this attachment by exempting them from all taxes; and when the supreme authority devolved upon Cromwell, as protector of the liberties of England, they found in him a friend no less sincere and zealous. After the conquest of Ireland, he invited them to return and settle in that country; and, subsequently, having conquered Jamaica, he endeavoured to persuade them to remove to that fertile island, and more genial climate. But his arguments and solicitations were unavailing. They enjoyed, in their present abode, complete religious freedom, and that privilege they were unwilling to hazard in pursuit of advantages less essential to their happiness.

Several settlements had been made beyond the present limits of Massachusetts, and within those of New Hampshire. Massachusetts contended that her charter gave her all the territory extending "from the northernmost part of the River Merrimac, and three miles more north, from the sea, and then upon a strait line east and west to each sea;" and that, of course, these settlements were within her limits. In 1641, they submitted to her claim, and placed themselves under her jurisdiction. They were situated at Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton. In 1645, a negro, who had been "fraudulently and injuriously taken and brought from Guinea," and sold to Mr. Williams of Piscataqua, was demanded by the general court, that he might be sent back to his native country.

About this time, several persons of considerable influence in the colony presented a petition to the general court, complaining of the law which denied civil privileges to all who were not church members, and, and of the regulations of the churches, by which all who were not members of some church were debarred from the Christian privileges of the Lord's supper for themselves, and of baptism for their children, and praying that members of the churches of England and Scotland might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England. The petition contained expressions disrespectful to

the government; and the general court, instead of granting their request, summoned them to appear and answer for contempt. They appeared, and, refusing to make any apology, were fined. They appealed from the sentence of the general court to the commissioners of plantations; but their appeal was not allowed. Apprehensive that efforts, would be made in England, by the petitioners, to injure the colony, the general court, through their agent, Mr. Winslow, addressed a discreet but frank remonstrance to parliament, in which they say, "We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter." In the same spirit, Mr. Winslow declared that "if the parliament should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed." The committee of parliament replied, "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."

Among those whose attention was, at an early period, attracted to the coast of North America, was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He had been an officer in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, was intimately connected with Raleigh, and was actuated by the same adventurous spirit. In conjunction with others, he despatched several ships to the coast. He was governor of Plymouth, and displayed so much zeal in establishing the Plymouth Company, that he was chosen its president, and afterwards took an active part in all its transactions. In 1635, this company, then on the point of surrendering its charter, granted to Gorges all the land from Piscataqua to Sagadahoc, and in 1639 this grant was confirmed by Charles I. In compliment to the queen, Gorges called the territory the Province of Maine, that being the name of her estate in France. At this time, several settlements had been made on the coast: at Saco the number of inhabitants was supposed to be about one hundred and fifty; but all were without law and without government until 1636, when the patentee sent over his nephew, William Gorges, to officiate as his deputy. In that year, a court was held at Saco, the first ever held in Maine. In less than two years, William Gorges returned to England, leaving the country destitute of a government.

In 1640, a general court was held at Saco, under the auspices of the lord proprietor. The next year, he incorporated Agamenticus—which he called Georgiana, and which is now called York—as a city, providing for a mayor, aldermen, and municipal courts, although the number of inhabitants was less than three hundred. He soon after died. The people wrote^{res} edly to his heirs, but, receiving no answer, they forme^d

selves into a body politic for the purposes of self-government. In this state of affairs, Massachusetts advanced her claim to the country, upon the same ground that she had claimed New Hampshire, sent commissioners to settle the government, and, in 1652, the several settlements readily submitted to her authority.

A sect of religionists, generally called Quakers, appeared in England in the year 1652. At this time of intense mental activity and intellectual anarchy, George Fox, the son of a weaver, distinguished even in boyhood for his frankness, inflexibility, and deep religious feeling, perplexed by the claim of every sect to be the only true interpreter of the will of God, after long wrestling with doubt and despair, embraced as divine truth the dogma, that the voice of God in the soul announced his will to man, and was the only law which he was bound to obey. His boldness in preaching raised up enemies, and multiplied converts. He left the jail, the stocks, and the whipping-post, with strength renewed and resolution increased, to proclaim his doctrines. In the conventicle, the alehouse, and the field, he preached to all who would hear him, and preached with such honest fervour, and prayed with such awful sublimity, that immense numbers of the common people embraced his doctrines. It is not surprising that, obeying the impulse of the spirit, many of his ignorant followers committed extravagances which rendered them proper subjects of the discipline of the magistrates.

In 1656, several of this sect came into Massachusetts. They were apprehended under the law against heretics; their books, which they brought with intent to circulate them among the people, were burnt, and themselves compelled to quit the colony. At the next session of the general court, a severe law was passed against Quakers in particular, and heavy penalties imposed upon any one who should bring them or their books into the colony, or should harbour them, or be present at their meetings. But their number increased, and their conduct became more offensive. They reviled magistrates and ministers, and, entering churches on the Sabbath, disturbed the solemnities of public worship. In 1658, an additional law was passed, making it a capital offence for any Quaker to return after banishment. Three, after having been once tried and banished, returned, were again tried, and, "for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death," were sentenced to die, and were executed. Subsequently another was banished, but returned; was again apprehended; was offered permission to leave the colony, and repeatedly urged to accept it, but, refusing to go, and declar-

ing to the court that "their ministers were deluded, and themselves murderers," was tried, convicted, and executed.

Many more Quakers came into the colony, were tried, and banished, returned, were again tried, and variously disposed of; but no others were executed. The severe and cruel law against them was undoubtedly passed in the confident expectation that, by means of it, the colony would be freed of these intruders, and that no occasion for executing it would ever arrive; and it was carried into execution from a fancied necessity of enforcing a law so daringly violated. The natural feeling of man rose up in opposition to the law, and it was repealed. When the agitation in men's minds subsided, the Quakers became calm with the rest; and their leading tenet seems to have had a favourable influence, in an educated age, upon their morals and conduct.

Cromwell, who had governed England with greater ability and higher merit than most of her kings, died in 1658; and, after an interval of two years, Charles II., a prince destitute of honour and virtue, was recalled from exile, and placed upon the throne. He was reluctantly acknowledged by the colonies of New England. They had been the favourites of the parliament and the Protector, and apprehended, with good reason, the loss of their civil and religious privileges.

A short time after, Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had sentenced Charles I. to be beheaded, having fled before the return of his successor, arrived in New England. Their first place of residence was Cambridge; but they often appeared publicly in Boston, particularly on Sundays and other days of religious solemnities. They had sustained high rank in Cromwell's army, were men of uncommon talents, and by their dignified manners and grave deportment, commanded universal respect.

As soon as it was known that they were excepted from the general pardon, the governor suggested to the court of assistants the expediency of arresting them. A majority opposed it, and many members of the general court gave them assurances of protection. Considering themselves, however, unsafe at Cambridge, they removed to New Haven, where they were received with great respect by the clergy and magistrates.

After a short residence there, enjoying, in private, the society of their friends, the governor of Massachusetts received a mandate to arrest them. A warrant was immediately issued, authorizing two zealous loyalists to search for and seize them, wherever found in New England. They hastened to the colony of New Haven, exhibited the warrant to the governor, who resided at Guilford, and requested him to furnish authority and assistants to pursue them. Desirous of

favouring the exiles, he affected to deliberate until the next morning, and then utterly declined acting officially, without the advice of his council.

In the mean time, they were apprised of their danger, and retired to a new place of concealment. The pursuers, on arriving at New Haven, searched every suspected house, except the one where the judges were concealed. This they began to search, but were induced, by the address of the mistress of it, to desist. When the pursuers had departed, the judges, retiring into the woods, fixed their abode in a cave. Hearing there that their friends were threatened with punishment for having afforded them protection, they came from their hiding-place for the purpose of delivering themselves up; but their friends, actuated by feelings equally noble and generous, persuaded them relinquish their attention. Soon after, they removed to Milford, where they remained about two years.

Upon the arrival of other persons, instructed to apprehend them, they repaired privately to Hadly, in Massachusetts, where they resided fifteen or sixteen years, but few persons being acquainted with the place of their concealment. There is, in that neighbourhood, a tradition, that, many years afterwards, two graves were discovered in the minister's cellar; and in these, it was supposed, they had been interred. At New Haven, two graves are shown, said to be those of the two judges. It is not improbable that their remains were removed to this place from Hadley.

A singular incident, which occurred at the latter place, in 1675, shows that one of these illustrious exiles had not forgotten the avocations of his youth. The people, at the time of public worship, were alarmed by an attack from the Indians, and thrown into the utmost confusion. Suddenly, a grave, elderly person appeared, differing in his mien and dress, from all around him. He put himself at their head, rallied, encouraged, and led them against the enemy, who were repulsed and completely defeated. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared. The people were lost in amazement, and many verily believed that an angel sent from heaven had led them to victory.

As soon as Holland became independent, she devoted all her energies to commerce; and her citizens, by their proverbial economy, were enabled to monopolize almost all the commerce of the world. While the ships of England lay rotting in her harbours, those of Holland carried to England the wines of France and Spain, the spices of the Indies, and even the various products of the American colonies. The parliament, therefore, in 1651, passed the famous Navigation Act by which ships not owned by Englishmen, were prohibited from bringing into English ports any articles of merchandise,

except such as were the products of the country to which the ships belonged. From this law the kingdom derived great benefit, the colonies suffered little injury; it merely excluded foreign ships from the direct trade between them and the mother country. On the restoration of the king, this law was continued in force; and it was also enacted that the principal products of the English colonies should not be carried from them to any other country than such as belonged to the crown of England; and, in 1663, it was still further enacted, that no commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe should be imported into the colonies except from British ports; thus compelling the colonists to sell what they produced, and buy what they wanted, in the markets of England alone.

These restraints upon their trade were highly injurious to the colonies. That they were profitable to England did not, in their view, relieve them from the charge of odious injustice. England, as a nation, had expended nothing in settling or protecting the colonies: by what right, then, could she claim to render their interests subservient to hers? They resorted to complaints and remonstrances; but these were disregarded; and the colonists, on their side, disregarded, as much as they dared, the laws of trade. Their distance from the mother country favoured them; and, notwithstanding these enacted restrictions, offspring of selfishness and pride, if not of hostility, they continued to prosper.

Their treatment of the king's judges, and in truth all their conduct, evinced the republican spirit of the colonists. By the royal government of England they could not, therefore, be regarded with favour. They had enemies, too, among themselves. After the restoration, Samuel Maverick, who had been long in Massachusetts, and always in opposition to the authorities, repaired to England, and solicited that commissioners might be sent over to examine into their conduct, to hear complaints, and decide upon them. In 1664, commissioners were accordingly appointed, Maverick being one; and they were also directed to take possession of New York, then occupied by the Dutch. Their first session was at Plymouth, where but little business was transacted; the next in Rhode Island, where they heard complaints from the Indians, and made divers determinations respecting titles to land which were but little regarded. On arriving in Massachusetts, it appeared that, as a part of their duty they were instructed to require, that all who should take the oath of allegiance; that all who should desire it should be permitted to use the Book of Common Prayer; that persons of good and honest conversation should enjoy the privileges of voting and being elected to office; and that the act of navigation should be punc-

tually observed. The general court complied with such of their requisitions as they thought proper; but professing sincere loyalty to his majesty, declined acknowledging their authority, and protested against the exercise of it within their limits. In consequence of this manly assertion of their chartered rights, an angry correspondence took place between them, at the close of which the commissioners told the general court "that they would lose no more of their labours upon them," but would represent their conduct to his majesty.

From Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire, where they exercised several acts of government, and offered to release the inhabitants from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This offer was almost unanimously rejected. In Maine, they excited more disturbance. They encouraged the people to declare themselves independent, and found many disposed to listen to their suggestions; but Massachusetts, by a prompt and vigorous exertion of power, constrained the disaffected to submit to her authority.

Connecticut appears to have been the favourite of the commissioners. She treated them with respect, and complied with their requisitions. In return, they made such a representation of her merits to the king, as to draw from him a letter of thanks. "Although," says he, "your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary behaviour of the colony of Massachusetts."

It may give some insight into the manners and feelings of the people, and throw some light upon the character of the commissioners, to relate an occurrence, otherwise trivial, which happened while they were in Boston. They sometimes met at the Ship Tavern, and, being there one Saturday evening, which was a violation of law, a constable visited them; an altercation took place; they beat him, and afterwards adjourned to a private house in the neighbourhood. Another constable, more zealous and courageous, hastened to the tavern, and, not finding them there, sought them at the house to which they had repaired. He told them he was glad to find them there; or, if he had found them at the tavern, he should have carried them all before a magistrate: and he reproved them sharply for beating a constable and abusing authority. He was asked if he should have dared to meddle with the king's commissioners. "Yes," said he; "and if the king himself had been there, I should have carried him away." "Treason!" cried one of them; and the next day he sent a note to the governor, charging the constable with high treason, mandating his arrest. Criminal proceedings were instituted against him, which, after continuing 81

ended in a sentence, that he "should be admonished in a solemn manner by the governor."

At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the emigrants at Plymouth, the New England colonies were supposed to contain one hundred and twenty towns, and as many thousand inhabitants. The acts of parliament not being rigidly enforced, their trade had become extensive and profitable. The habits of industry and economy, which had been formed in less happy times, continued to prevail, and gave a competency to those who had nothing, and wealth to those who had a competency. The wilderness receded before adventurous and hardy labourers, and its savage inhabitants found their game dispersed, and their favourite haunts invaded.

This was the natural consequence of the sales of land which were, at all times, readily made to the whites. But this consequence the Indians did not foresee; and when they felt it in all its force, the strongest passions were awakened which can animate civilized or savage man—the love of country and of independence.

A leader only was wanting to concentrate and direct their exertions; and Philip of Pokanoket, sachem of a tribe living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, assumed that honourable but dangerous station. His father was the friend, but he had ever been the enemy, of the whites; and this enmity, arising from causes of national concern, had been embittered to vindictive hatred by their conduct towards his elder brother. This brother, being suspected of plotting against them, was seized by a detachment of soldiers, and confined; and the indignity so wrought upon his proud spirit, as to produce a fever that put an end to his life.

Philip inherited the authority and proud spirit of his brother. He exerted all the arts of intrigue, and powers of persuasion, of which he was master, to induce the Indians, in all parts of New England, to unite their efforts for the destruction of the whites. He succeeded in forming a confederacy, able to send into action between three and four thousand warriors.

The English were apprised of the plots of the Indians, and made preparations to meet their hostilities. They hoped, however, that the threatened storm would pass by, as others had, and that peace would be preserved. But the insolence of Philip, and the number of his adherents, increased daily; and, in June, 1675, some of them entered the town of Swansey, in Plymouth, where, after slaughtering the cattle and plundering the houses, they fired upon the inhabitants, killing and wounding several.

The troops of that colony marched immediately to Swansey, and were soon joined by a detachment from Massachusetts. The Indians fled, and marked the course of their flight by

burning the buildings, and fixing on poles, by the way-side, the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites whom they had killed. The troops pursued, but, unable to overtake them, returned to Swanzev. The whole country was alarmed, and the number of troops augmented. By this array of force, Philip was induced to quit his residence at Mount Hope, and take post near a swamp at Pocasset, now Tiverton. At that place, the English attacked him, but were repulsed. Sixteen whites were killed; and the Indians, by this success, were made bolder.

At this time, most of the settlements were surrounded by thick forests, and the Indians lived intermixed with the whites. The former were acquainted, of course, with the dwellings of the latter, with their roads, and places of resort; could watch their motions, and fall upon them in their defenceless and unguarded moments. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning; many while at work in their fields, and others while travelling to visit their neighbours, or places of worship. At all times, at all places, in all employments, were their lives in jeopardy; and no one could tell but that, in the next moment, he should receive his death-shot from his barn, the thicket, or the way-side. Whenever the enemy assembled in force, detachments were sent against them; if weaker than these, they would retreat; if stronger, assault and conquer them. Defenceless villages were suddenly attacked, the houses burned, and the men, women, and children killed or carried into captivity. Their ruin was the work of a moment; and when accomplished, its authors vanished.

The colonies, losing individuals, families, and villages, found their numbers sensibly diminished, their strength impaired, and began to apprehend even total extinction. Nothing but a vigorous effort could save them. The commissioners met, and determined to despatch an army of a thousand men, to attack the principal position of the enemy. Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief; and a solemn fast, to invoke the divine aid, was proclaimed throughout New England.

On the 18th of December, the different bodies of troops formed a junction at a place in the country of the Narragansetts, about fifteen miles from the enemy. The weather was extremely cold, but the men, from necessity, passed the night, uncovered, in the fields. At dawn of day, they began their march, wading through the deep snow, and, at one o'clock, arrived near the enemy's post, which was upon a rising ground, in the midst of a swamp. It was surrounded by palisades, and on the outside of these was a fence of brush, a rod in width.

Here was fought the most desperate battle recorded in the

early annals of the country. It continued three hours. The English obtained a decisive victory. One thousand Indian warriors were killed; three hundred more, and as many women and children, were made prisoners. But dearly was the victory purchased. Six brave captains and eighty men were killed, and one hundred and fifty were wounded.

From this blow the confederated Indians never recovered; but they still remained sufficiently strong to harass the settlements by continual inroads. In retaliation, the English sent several detachments into their territories, nearly all of which were successful. Captain Church of Plymouth, and Captain Dennison of Connecticut, were conspicuous for their bravery and good fortune.

In the midst of these reverses, Philip remained firm and unshaken. His warriors were cut off; his chief men, his wife and family, were killed or taken prisoners; and at these successive misfortunes he is represented to have wept with a bitterness which proved him to possess the noblest of human virtues and affections. But he disdained to listen to any efforts of peace; he even shot one of his men, who proposed submission. At length, after being hunted from swamp to swamp, he was himself shot, by the brother of the Indian he had killed. After his death, the remnant of his followers either submitted to the English or united with distant tribes.

Never was peace more welcome, for never had war been more distressing. The whole population was in mourning for relatives slain. Nearly a thousand houses had been burned, and goods and cattle of great value had been plundered or destroyed. The colonies had contracted a heavy debt, which, their resources having been so much diminished, they found an almost insupportable burden. But, in their deepest distress, they forbore to apply to the mother country for assistance; and this omission excited surprise and jealousy. "You act," said a privy counsellor, "as though you were independent of our master's crown; and though poor, yet you are proud."

The construction of her charter by which Massachusetts claimed and obtained jurisdiction over New Hampshire, was not submitted to by the heir of Mason. On application to the king, a decision, after long delay, was made in his favour. Apprehending the loss of Maine also, Massachusetts purchased of the heirs of Gorges their claim to the soil and jurisdiction for twelve hundred and fifty pounds. Considering that she now stood in the place of the patentee, she appointed Thomas Danforth to be president of the province, as deputy of the proprietor. It was afterwards divided into two counties, York and Cumberland, and governed as a part of Massachusetts.

The disregard of the acts of trade had given great offence

to the mother country, and the governors of New England were peremptorily required to enforce them. But, being enacted by a parliament in which the colonies were not represented, they were regarded as violations of their rights, and continued to be evaded with impunity. Edward Randolph was therefore sent over, commissioned as inspector of the customs in New England. He was also the bearer of a letter from the king, requiring that agents should be sent to the court of London, fully empowered to act for the colonies.

It was well understood to be the intention of the king to procure, from the agents, a surrender of the charters, or to annul them by a suit in his courts, that he might himself place officers over the colonies, who would be subservient to his views. He had by intimidation procured the surrender, or by suits the annulment, of many charters in England and the colonies. The people felt that to be deprived of theirs, which secured to them the rights of self-government, would be the greatest of calamities. But they were aware that they were weak, that the king was arbitrary and all-powerful, and they hesitated what course to pursue. Agents were despatched, but instructed not to surrender the charter; and a fast was appointed to be observed through the colony. The agents wrote back that the case of the colony was desperate, and intimated that it might be advisable to submit to the king's mercy by surrendering. The subject was fully discussed, not only by those in office, but by the people; the opinion of many of the ministers were given in writing; and the result seemed to be a determination rather "to die by the hands of others than by their own." At a late period, the assistants voted to surrender, but the representatives voted not to concur. Seeing no prospect that the colony would submit, the king caused a suit to be instituted, and in June, 1684, the charter was declared forfeited.

All impediments to the exercise of the royal will being thus removed, King Charles II. appointed Colonel Kirk, infamous for his atrocities, governor over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Plymouth; but, Charles dying soon after, the appointment became void, and Joseph Dudley, who had been one of the agents in England, was appointed by his successor, James II. Dudley was soon superseded by the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, who arrived in December, 1686. This appointment caused the most gloomy forebodings. Sir Edmund had been governor of New York, and it was known that his conduct there had been arbitrary and tyrannical.

Having secured a majority in the council, he assumed control over the press, appointing Randolph licenser. He esta-

lished new and oppressive regulations concerning taxes, public worship, marriages, and the settlement of estates. He, and, by his permission, his subordinate officers extorted enormous fees for their services. He declared that, the charter being cancelled, the old titles to land were of no validity, and compelled the inhabitants, in order to avoid suits before judges dependent on his will, to take out new patents, for which large sums were demanded.

The hatred of the people was excited in proportion to their sufferings. In the beginning of 1689, a rumour reached Boston, that William, prince of Orange had invaded England, with the intention of dethroning the king. Animated by the hope of deliverance, the people rushed spontaneously to arms, took possession of the fort, seized Andros, Randolph, and other obnoxious persons, and placed them in confinement. A council of safety consisting of their former magistrates, was then organized, to administer the government until authentic intelligence should be received from England.

In a few weeks, a ship arrived, bringing the glad tidings that William and Mary were firmly seated on the throne. They were immediately proclaimed, in all the colonies, with unusual rejoicings. The people of Massachusetts applied for the restoration of their old, or the grant of a new, charter. A definite answer was deferred, but the council was authorized to administer the government, according to the provisions of the old charter, until further directions should be given. Andros, Randolph, and others were ordered home for trial.

The northern and eastern Indians having, at the instigation of the French, made incursions into the colonies of New England and New York, and massacred many of the inhabitants, an attack, by land and water, upon Canada was resolved upon. The army, raised principally by New York and Connecticut, proceeded no farther than Lake Champlain. The fleet, fitted out by Massachusetts, and commanded by Sir William Phipps, appeared before Quebec, but, hearing that the army had retreated, returned unsuccessful to Boston. Great expense had been incurred, the treasury was empty, and the men could not be dismissed without pay. In this emergency, the court voted that the requisite sum should be raised by a tax, and authorized an emission of colony notes, for sums from two shillings to ten pounds, which were passed to the men in discharge of their wages. These notes were to be received in payment of the tax which had been voted, and for all other payments into the treasury. At first, they fell below par, but rose to par when the time arrived for the payment of the tax. This was the first issue of paper money, or bills of credit—an expedient which was afterwards often resorted to, and, though it afforded relief at the moment.

produced, in its consequences, extensive and complicated mischief.

In the mean time, a new charter had been granted to Massachusetts, which added Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia to her territory. The only privilege it allowed to the people was, the choice of representatives. These were to elect a council, and both bodies were to constitute the legislative power. It reserved to the king the right of appointing the governor and lieutenant-governor. To the governor it gave the power of rejecting laws, of negating the choice of councillors, of appointing all military or judicial officers, of adjourning, and even of dissolving, the assembly at pleasure. Laws, though approved by him, might be abrogated by the king, within three years after their enactment. The right of voting, instead of being confined to church members, was granted to freeholders whose income was forty shillings sterling a-year, and to all who had forty pounds sterling personal estate.

The king, to render the new charter more acceptable, appointed Sir William Phipps, a native of the province, governor; and, in 1692, he arrived at Boston. The new government went into operation without any opposition from the inhabitants; and almost the first act of Sir William and his council was the institution of a court to try the unfortunate victims of popular delusion, accused of witchcraft at Salem.

The belief in this supposed crime had been so prevalent in England, that parliament had enacted a law punishing it with death. Under this law, multitudes had been tried and executed in that country, and two or three in Massachusetts, some of whom acknowledged they were guilty. Accounts of these trials and confessions, and particularly of some trials before Sir Matthew Hale, a judge revered in the colonies, had been published and distributed throughout the country. They were read, in a time of deep distress and gloom, by a people naturally sedate, and accustomed to regard with awe the surprising and unaccountable incidents and appearances which, in this new world, were often presented to their contemplation.

In February, 1692, a daughter and niece of Mr. Paris, the minister of Salem, were afflicted with disorders affecting their bodies in the most singular manner. The physicians, unable to account for their contortions, pronounced them bewitched; and the children, hearing of this, declared that an Indian woman, who lived in the house, was the cause of their torments. Mr. Paris concurred with the physicians. Several private fasts were kept at his house, and the gloom was increased by a solemn fast throughout the colony.

The Indian woman confessed herself guilty. The children were visited, noticed, and pitied. This encouraged the

persevere, and other children, either from sympathy or the desire of similar attentions, exhibited similar contortions. A distracted old woman, and one who had been a long time confined to her bed, were added to the list of the accused; and, in the progress of the infatuation, women of mature age united with the children in their accusations.

The accused were multiplied in proportion to the accusers. Children accused their parents, and parents their children. A word from those who were supposed to be afflicted occasioned the arrest of the devoted victim; and so firmly convinced were the magistrates that the prince of darkness was in the midst of them, using human instruments to accomplish his purposes, that the slightest testimony was deemed sufficient to justify a commitment for trial.

The court specially instituted for this purpose held a session in June, and afterwards several others by adjournment. Many were tried, and received sentence of death. A few pleaded guilty. Several were convicted upon testimony which, at other times, would not have induced suspicion of an ordinary crime, and some upon testimony retracted after conviction. Nineteen were executed, and many yet remained to be tried.

At this stage of the proceedings, the legislature established, by law, a permanent court, by which the other was superseded, and fixed a distant day for its first session at Salem. In the meantime, the accusations multiplied, and additional jails were required to hold the accused. The impostors, hardened by impunity and success, ascended from decrepit old women to respectable characters, and at length, in their ravings, named ministers of the gospel, and even the wife of the governor.

The community were thrown into consternation. Each felt alarm for himself, his family, and friends. The shock roused them to reflection. They considered more closely the character of the accusers; the nature of the alleged crime; the testimony, often contradictory, and never explicit; and, more than all these, the high standing of some who were implicated; and began to doubt whether they had not been too credulous and precipitate.

At the next term, the grand jury found indictments against fifty; but, on trial, all were acquitted except three, and them the governor reprieved. He also directed that all who were in prison should be set at liberty. A belief, however, of the charges, still lingered among the people, and prevented any prosecution of the impostors. That all were impostors, cannot be believed. Many must have acted under the influence of a disordered imagination, which the attendant circumstances were well calculated to produce.

In the first general court, under the new charter, were many of those who were members of the last under the old, and

they made an almost hopeless attempt to secure the privileges they had enjoyed. They passed an act declaring "that no tax or imposition whatever shall be laid or levied on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court." This act was immediately disallowed. They passed another act prescribing the punishment of death for idolatry, blasphemy, incest, and manslaughter; thus showing their abhorrence of crime was greater than their regard for life. This also was disallowed. Another act provided that the real and personal estate of all who died intestate should be divided into equal shares, of which the eldest son should take two, and each of the other children one; thus making an important alteration of the common law, which gave all the real estate to the eldest son, displaying the love of equality which then prevailed, and sufficient of itself to introduce and perpetuate free institutions. This law was allowed, as were also many others, of less importance, passed at the same session.

The war with the French and Indians, which began in 1690, was not yet terminated. For seven years were the frontier settlements harassed by the savages, and the English employed in expeditions against them. A history of these would consist only of repeated accounts of Indian cunning and barbarity, and of English enterprise and fortitude. Peace between England and France, which took place in 1697, was followed by peace with the savages.

But in a few years, war again broke out in Europe, which was the signal for hostilities in America. The first blow fell upon Deerfield. In February, 1704, it was surprised in the night; about forty persons were killed, and more than one hundred made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. The killed were scalped, and the prisoners commanded to prepare for a long march to Canada. On the second day, Mrs. Williams was so exhausted with fatigue, that she could go no further. Her husband solicited permission to remain with her; but the retreating savages, according to their custom in such cases, killed her, and compelled him to proceed. Before the termination of their journey, twenty more became unable to walk, and were in like manner sacrificed. Those who survived the journey to Canada were treated by the French with humanity; and after a captivity of many years, most of them were redeemed, and returned to their friends.

New York having agreed with the French and the western Indians to remain neutral, these were enabled to pour their whole force upon Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the inhabitants of which, for ten years, endured miseries peculiar

to an Indian war, and more distressing than their descendants can well imagine. The enemy were at all times prowling about the frontier settlements, watching in concealment for an opportunity to strike a sudden blow and fly with safety. The women and children retired into the garrisons; the men left their fields uncultivated, or laboured with arms at their sides, and with sentinels at every point whence an attack could be apprehended.

Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, the enemy were often successful, killing sometimes an individual only, sometimes a whole family, sometimes a band of labourers, ten or twelve in number; and so swift were they in their movements, that but few fell into the hands of the whites. It was computed that the sum of one thousand pounds was expended for every Indian killed or made captive.

In 1707, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode island despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia which was then in possession of the French. It returned without accomplishing its object. In 1710, New England, assisted by a fleet furnished by the mother country, succeeded in reducing the place; and its name, in compliment to Queen Anne, was changed to Annapolis.

The success of this enterprise encouraged the commander, General Nicholson, to visit England and propose an expedition against Canada. His proposition was adopted, and in June, 1711, Admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, bringing an army of veteran troops, arrived at Boston. Taking on board two additional regiments he sailed from that port about the last of July. At the same time, General Nicholson repaired to Albany to take command of the troops that were to proceed by land.

When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the River St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. A difference of opinion arose concerning the course to be pursued, the English pilots recommending one course, and the colonial another. The admiral, entertaining, like all other English officers, an opinion of the abilities of the colonists corresponding with their dependent condition, adopted the advice of his own pilots. Pursuing the course they recommended, nine transports were driven, about midnight, upon the rocks, and dashed to pieces.

From every quarter cries of distress arose, conveying, through the darkness, to those who were yet afloat, intelligence of the fate of their comrades and of their own danger. The shrieks of the drowning pleaded powerfully for assistance, but none could be afforded until the morning dawned, when six or seven hundred, found floating on the scattered wrecks,

were rescued from death, more than a thousand having sunk to rise no more. Not a single American was lost.

Weakened by this terrible disaster, the admiral determined to return to England, where he arrived in the month of October. Thither misfortune attended him. On the 15th, his ship blew up, and four hundred seamen perished. The New England troops returned to their homes, and Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, led back his troops to Albany. The next year, the colonies found no repose. In 1713, France and England made peace at Utrecht, and, in the same year, peace was concluded with the Indians.

Such was the destruction of lives in this war, that the population of New England was sensibly retarded. Her expenses were also enormous. Although the annual taxes paid by the inhabitants were greater than in any other portion of the British empire, yet the colonies most exposed were burdened, at the close of the war, with a heavy debt, in the shape of bills of credit or paper money, which impeded their prosperity, perplexing individuals and the government in all their transactions.

In 1716, Samuel Shute, a colonel in the army of the celebrated duke of Marlborough, was appointed governor. On his arrival in the province, he found the people divided into two parties, one in favour of a public bank, which had just been established, the other of the incorporation of a private bank. He joined the former; the latter of course became hostile, and, led by a Mr. Cooke, opposed with virulence all his measures.

In 1720, this party, embracing a majority of the representatives, elected their leader speaker. The choice was communicated to the governor, who interposed his negative. The house persisted in their choice, denying his right to interfere. The controversy continued several days, when the governor dissolved the assembly, and directed that a new election should be made by the people.

The charter not giving, in express terms, to the governor, the power to reject a speaker, the people resolved to support their representatives, and nearly all of them were again elected. When met, to avoid a second dissolution, they chose a Mr. Lindall speaker; but, in a warm remonstrance to the governor, condemned his conduct, and re-asserted their sole and exclusive right to choose their presiding officer. The session was short, and but little was done that did not display the angry feelings of the house. Instead of six hundred pounds, the usual grant to the governor for half a year's salary, they appropriated but five hundred, and, as a mark of their displeasure, deferred that act until near the close of the session.

At their next meeting, the same feelings prevailed, and the same diminished sum was voted. The governor then informed

them, that he had been instructed by the king to recommend to the assembly, to establish for him a permanent and honourable salary. The house, aware of the importance of retaining the power of granting such sums as the governor might merit by his conduct, replied, that the subject was new, and expressed a wish that the court might rise. With this request the governor complied.

This disagreement continued, the ill temper of both parties increasing, through several subsequent sessions. The representatives, confident of the support of the people, refused to establish a permanent salary for the governor, and often withheld the pittance they gave until he had sanctioned those measures which they desired should be adopted. His residence in the province being rendered, by this dispute, unpleasant, he suddenly and privately quitted it, in December, 1722. Upon his arrival in England, he exhibited charges against the house, of having made various encroachments upon the king's prerogative which the agents of the province were instructed to answer and repel.

He remained in England until 1728, when he resigned his office, and William Burnet, then governor of New York, was appointed his successor. In his first speech, he informed the house that he had received positive instruction from the king to insist on a permanent salary. The representatives, generous of their money, but tenacious of their rights, appropriated three hundred pounds for the expenses of his journey, and fourteen hundred pounds towards his support, not specifying for what time. The first sum he accepted, but absolutely declined receiving any compensation for his services, except in the mode of a fixed salary.

The delegates were equally decided, and, having transacted all their necessary business, requested the governor, by message, to adjourn them. He replied, that he could not comply with their request, as, if he did, he should put it out of their power to pay immediate regard to the king's instructions. A few days afterwards, the request was again made, and again denied. Messages, containing arguments and replies, were often interchanged by the parties. After two months had been consumed in the controversy, the governor, imagining the members were influenced by the citizens of Boston, transferred the general court to Salem. They were detained there two months; were then allowed to return to their homes; were again assembled, after a short recess; and, having sat seventeen days, were again adjourned without exhibiting any symptoms of compliance.

A new assembly was elected, and held several sessions in the summer of 1729, displaying the same spirit as the former. In the mean time, information was transmitted from England,

that the king approved the conduct of the governor, and condemned that of the house. Still the members continued inflexible. In August, they were removed to Cambridge, which served to exasperate rather than to convince them. Here, however, the controversy was suspended, for a time, by the death of the governor, which was supposed to have been hastened by his unsuccessful contest with the house of representatives.

His successor was Mr. Belcher, then agent in England. As he belonged to the popular party, his appointment gave rise to the expectation, that the instruction to obtain a permanent salary was withdrawn. But from his first speech it appeared, that it was not only unrescinded, but enforced by a threat of punishment in case of refusal.

The house, unintimidated by the threat, refused. The governor, during the first two years of his administration, made several attempts to induce them to comply. All failing, he endeavoured to obtain a relaxation of his instructions. Permission was at length granted that he might receive a particular sum, which had been voted, and a similar permission was afterwards annually given. Thus ended a contest which prepared the people of Massachusetts to embark in another, in which more important rights were to be defended.

These turbulent times were succeeded by a calm which continued several years; during which, however, the enemies of Governor Belcher, by incessant misrepresentation, deprived him of the favour of the ministry in England. In 1740, he was removed from office, and Mr. William Shirley appointed in his place.

In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were involved in its calamities. Their commerce and fisheries suffered great injury from privateers, fitted out at Louisburg, a French port on Cape Breton. Its situation gave it such importance, that nearly six millions of dollars had been expended on its fortifications. Mr. Vaughan, of New Hampshire, who had often visited that place as a trader, conceived the project of an expedition against it. He communicated it to Governor Shirley, and, being ardent and enthusiastic, convinced him that the enterprise was practicable, and inspired him with his own enthusiasm.

Having exacted of the general court an oath of secrecy, the governor, in January, 1745, communicated to them the project. Many heard it with amazement. So strong was the place, and so weak, comparatively, were the colonies, that the thought of attacking it seemed rash and presumptuous. From respect to him, however, his proposal was referred to a committee: they reported against it; the house accepted the

port, and the members dismissed from their minds all thoughts of the expedition.

During the secret deliberations, the people watched with anxiety to ascertain their object. The disclosure was made by an honest member, who incautiously, in his family devotions, prayed for the divine blessing on the attempt, should it be made. The people were instantly struck with the advantage of possessing the place. When the decision was made known, a petition, signed by a large number of merchants, was presented to the general court, praying them to comply with the governor's proposal. The subject was again discussed, and a vote in favour of the expedition was passed by a majority of one.

The question was now decided; and all who were before averse to the enterprise, united heartily with its supporters to carry it into execution. The other New England colonies were solicited, and agreed to furnish assistance; and a boat was despatched to Commodore Warren, in the West Indies, to invite his co-operation. Colonel Pepperell was appointed commander-in-chief, and Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, second in command.

In two months, an army of more than four thousand men was enlisted, clothed, victualled, and equipped for service, in the four New England colonies, which did not then contain four hundred thousand inhabitants. On the 23d of March, the despatch-boat returned from the West Indies, with advice that Commodore Warren declined furnishing aid. This intelligence was kept secret. The troops of Massachusetts embarked, as though nothing discouraging had happened; and about the middle of April, they, as well as those sent by Connecticut and New Hampshire, arrived safe at Canso.

Commodore Warren had but just despatched his answer, when he received orders to repair to Boston with such ships as could be spared, and concert measures with Governor Shirley for his majesty's service in North America. He sailed instantly; but learning, in his course, that the transports had left Boston for Canso, he steered directly for that place, where he arrived on the 23d of April. He added much to their naval strength, and much to that confidence which, by promising, insures, victory.

Several vessels of war, which had been sent to cruise before Louisbourg, had captured a number of French ships, and prevented any intelligence of the expedition from reaching the enemy. These vessels were daily in sight of the place, but were supposed to be privateers, and caused no alarm. The appearance of the fleet, on the 30th of April, gave the French the first intimation of their danger.

The troops immediately landed; and the next day a detach-

ment of four hundred, marching round the hills, approached within a mile of the grand battery, setting fire to all the houses and stores on the way. Many of these contained pitch and tar, which produced a thick smoke, that completely enveloped the invaders. The fears of the French were increased by their uncertainty. They imagined the whole army was coming upon them, and, throwing their powder into a well, deserted the battery, of which the New England troops took possession without loss.

This was uncommon good fortune; but the most difficult labours of the siege remained to be performed. The cannon were to be drawn nearly two miles, over a deep morass, in plain view, and within gunshot of the enemy's principal fortifications. For fourteen nights, the troops, with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, were employed in this service.

The approaches were then begun in the mode which seemed most proper to the shrewd understandings of untaught militia. Those officers who were skilled in the art of war, talked of *zigzags* and *epaulements*; but the troops made themselves merry with the terms, and proceeded in their own way. By the 20th of May, they had erected five batteries, one of which mounted five forty-two pounders, and did great execution.

Meanwhile the fleet, cruising in the harbour, had been equally successful. It captured a French ship of sixty-four guns, loaded with stores for the garrison, to whom the loss was so distressing as to the besiegers the capture was fortunate. English ships-of-war were, besides, continually arriving, and added such strength to the fleet, that a combined attack upon the town was resolved upon. The enemy, discovering this design, deemed it unwise to abide the hazard of an assault. On the 15th of June, the French commander proposed a cessation of hostilities, and, on the 17th, capitulated.

Intelligence of this event, flying swiftly through the colonies, diffused great and universal joy. And well might the citizens of New England be elated with the glad tidings. Without even a suggestion from the mother country, they had projected, and, with but little assistance, had achieved, an enterprise of vast importance to her and to them. Their commerce and fisheries were now secure, all their maritime cities relieved from all fear of attack from that quarter.

France, fired with resentment at her loss, made extraordinary exertions to retrieve it, and to inflict chastisement on New England. The next summer, she despatched to the American coast a powerful fleet, carrying a large number of soldiers. The news of its approach spread terror throughout New England; but an uncommon succession of disasters, which the pious of that time attributed to the special interp-

sition of Providence, deprived it of all power to inflict injury. After remaining a short time on the coast, it returned to France, having lost two admirals, both of whom, it was supposed, put an end to their lives through chagrin; having, also, by tempests, been reduced to one half its force, and effected nothing.

In 1748, peace was concluded, each party restoring all its prisoners and conquests—a striking, but not uncommon, illustration of the folly of war. Louisbourg, though conquered by the colonies, was exchanged, by Great Britain, for territories which she had lost in Europe. New England murmured at this injustice; but what avails the murmurs of the weak?

From this period to the commencement of the next French war, but few important events occurred in Massachusetts. The bills of credit which the colony had issued to defray its enormous expenditure, were redeemed by the government, at their depreciated value. This example was followed, though tardily, by the other governments. At the time of their redemption, they were worth no more, in some colonies, than one-tenth, and in others, one-twentieth, of the sum for which they had been issued.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Two of the most active members of the council of Plymouth were Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason. Gorges was governor of Plymouth, in England; and having taken into his service three Indians brought from America, he learned from them many particulars of their country, and conceived sanguine hopes of making his fortune by despatching ships to explore it, and by carrying on trade with the natives. His first enterprises were unsuccessful; but, nevertheless, he persevered. Mason was a merchant of London; was afterwards governor of Newfoundland, where he acquired some knowledge of America; was governor, also, of Portsmouth, in Hampshire; and, a vacancy occurring in the council, he was elected a member, and soon after appointed its secretary.

In 1621, Mason obtained from the council a grant of all the land between the rivers Merrimac and Naumkeag, which district was called Mariana. The next year, Gorges and Mason obtained a grant of the land between the Rivers Merrimac and Sagadahoc, extending back to the great lakes, and the River of Canada; and this tract was called Laconia. In 1623, designing to establish a fishery at the River Pascataqua, they

sent over David Thompson, Edward and William Hilton, fishmongers, with several others, in two divisions. One landed on the southern shore of the river, called the place Little Harbour, erected salt works, and built a house, which they called Mason Hall; the other, led by the Hiltons, set up their stages about eight miles farther up the river, and called the place at first Northam, and afterwards Dover. Fishing and trade being the sole object of both parties, these settlements increased slowly.

In 1629, Mason procured another patent, granting the land between Piscataqua and Merrimac Rivers, and extending sixty miles into the country; and this tract he called New Hampshire. Subsequently the council granted to Edward Hilton the land about Hilton's Point; and to Georges, Mason, and others, the land about Little Harbour. For what reasons these several patents were granted, is not easily understood at this day, and the question is not important. Trading with the natives, fishing, and the making of salt, were carried on at both places. In 1631, a house, called the Great House, was built at Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth.

The death of Mason, which occurred in 1635, retarded the progress of the settlement at Little Harbour, which was under his particular management. The principal part of his estate in New Hampshire he bequeathed to his grandson, Robert Tufon, on condition that he took the surname of Mason. In 1638, John Wheelwright, the brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, banished from Massachusetts for his Antinomian principles, came, with a number of his adherents, to Squamscot Falls, where they made a settlement, and called it Exeter. Believing themselves to be out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they combined into a separate body politic, chose rulers, and took an oath to obey them. Wheelwright purchased of the Indians a tract of land round the Falls thirty miles square. It is now ascertained that this purchase was not made until 1638, and that the deed bearing date previous to the grant to Mason was a forgery.

The widow and executrix of Mason, finding the expense of managing the estate in New Hampshire greater than the income, relinquished the care of it; and the men in her employment divided among themselves the goods and cattle. It is said that a hundred oxen were driven to Boston, and there sold for twenty-five pounds, a-piece, that being the current price of the best oxen in New England at that time. They were of a large breed imported from Denmark.

Among the Antinomians who were banished from Massachusetts was Captain John Underhill. He had been a soldier in the Netherlands; was brought to Massachusetts, by Governor Winthrop, to train the people in military discipline; served

in the Pequod war; and was once chosen a representative for Boston. He was a singular compound of enthusiasm in religion, turbulence in social life, licentiousness in conduct, and bravery in war. After he and two contending clergymen, Knollys and Larkham, had, for some time, kept Dover and Strawberry Bank in commotion, he returned to Boston, and, in a large public assembly, made humble confession of his sins, and especially of a crime severely punished by our ancestors. The church restored him to their communion, and afterwards, at their own expense, sent him, at the request of the Dutch, to New York, where, in a war with the Indians, he distinguished himself for his bravery and success. Knollys, after publicly confessing himself guilty, and Larkham, dreading the exposure, of the same crime, returned to England, and there proved the sincerity of their religious opinions, by adhering to them, though persecuted for nonconformity. Enthusiasm, even when severe, is often only the result of natural fervour of temperament, and the same natural fervour often impels to the commission of wickedness.

The people of Dover and Strawberry Bank, not having any established government, combined themselves separately into a body politic, after the example of their brethren at Exeter. But the more considerate, sensible of their weakness, proposed to place themselves under the protection of Massachusetts. That colony contended that, by the most natural construction of her charter, they were within her limits; and, in 1641, she gladly received them. They and all the settlements in New Hampshire were governed as a part of that colony until the year 1680.

The Indian war, called Philip's war, which raged in the years 1675 and 1676, extended to New Hampshire; and the settlers on the Piscataqua and Oyster rivers suffered severely. Major Waldron, of Dover, holding a commission from Massachusetts, conducted the war, in this region, on the part of the whites. In the winter of 1675, some of the eastern tribes sued to him for peace, and by his mediation a treaty was concluded. After the death of Philip, many of his followers endeavoured to conceal themselves among these tribes, but were pursued, and some, being caught, were executed. Others, rendered desperate, joined with the Indians farther east in committing depredations upon the settlers in Maine and New Hampshire. Massachusetts sent a body of troops against them, which, on arriving at Dover, found there about four hundred Indians, belonging principally to the tribes with which Waldron had made peace. The officers from Massachusetts, being ordered to seize all Indians who had been concerned in the war, insisted on attacking them at once; but Waldron dissuaded them, and contrived a stratagem to effect

their object. He proposed to the Indians to unite in a training and sham fight, added his own troops to those from Massachusetts, and after the Indians had discharged their muskets, surrounded them, made them all prisoners, and separating those with whom he had made peace from those who had joined them, sent the latter to Boston, where some of them were executed, and the rest sold into slavery in foreign parts. The friendly Indians, though unharmed, accused Waldron of a breach of faith, alleging that those sent to Boston had been received, according to their usage, into their tribes, and since then they had committed no hostilities. His conduct was very highly applauded by the whites, but the Indians never forgave him.

In 1675, Robert Mason, grandson and heir of John Mason, applied to the king to obtain possession of the territory and rights which had been granted to his ancestor. Notice of this application was given to Massachusetts, and the parties were heard before the king in council. In 1679, a decree was passed, that New Hampshire should be constituted a separate province, to be ruled by a president and council, who were to be appointed by the king, and a house of representatives, to be chosen by the people. No decision was made affecting the titles to land.

John Cutt was appointed president, and, in 1680, the first assembly, consisting of eleven members, met at Portsmouth. At this session, a code of laws was adopted, of which the first, in a style worthy of freemen, declared, "that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, should be imposed upon the inhabitants of the province, but such as should be made by the assembly, and approved by the president and council." This was twelve years previous to the enactment of a similar law in Massachusetts. By another law, idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, manstealing, cursing and rebelling against parents, and many other crimes, were made capital.

In the same year, Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, came over with the appointment of collector of the customs throughout New England. It was his duty to enforce the acts of trade and navigation, which, in New Hampshire as well as in all the other colonies, were considered violations of their rights, and oppressively unjust, because, for the sole benefit of England, they confined the trade of the colonies to English ports. Having seized a vessel belonging to Portsmouth, and bound to Ireland, he was prosecuted by the owner, and judgment obtained against him. Afterwards, he being absent, his deputy, Walter Barefoot, published an advertisement requiring that all vessels should be entered and cleared with him. He was thereupon indicted "for having, in a high and presumptuous manner, set up his majesty's office of customs without

leave from the president and council," was convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of ten pounds. The men of that day were indeed men of nerve.

Mason, who had been appointed a member of the council, arrived at the same time in the colony. He assumed the title of lord proprietor, claimed the soil as his property, and threatened to prosecute all who would not take from him leases of the lands they occupied. His pretensions were resisted by most of the inhabitants, who claimed the fee simple of the soil by purchase from the Indians—a more righteous, if not more legal, title.

Discouraged by the opposition he met with, he returned to England, and solicited a change in the government of the colony. Edward Cranfield was appointed lieutenant-governor. He was to receive, for his compensation, all the fines and forfeitures due and accruing to the king, and one fifth of all the rents due and accruing to Mason. He was authorized, by his commission, to negative all acts of the assembly, to suspend councillors, and to appoint a deputy-governor and all colonial officers. He did not hesitate to avow that he accepted the office with the expectation of enriching himself.

On his arrival, in 1682, he suspended two councillors, Waldron and Martyn, who had been active in opposing Mason; and in a short time, by new appointments, filled all the offices with his adherents. Mason then brought a suit against Waldron, to try the validity of his title. Waldron made no defence, and judgment was rendered against him. Many other suits were brought; no defence was made; executions were issued, but only two or three were levied, and these levies were ineffectual, for no one would purchase or take a lease of the lands, and the former claimants continued to enjoy them.

The tyranny and extortion of Cranfield and his subordinates goaded the people to desperation; and they secretly sent an agent, Nathaniel Weare, to England with petitions for his removal. Major Vaughan accompanied him to Boston; and, it being known that he had been employed to procure depositions to be forwarded to the agent in London, he was, on some pretext, committed to prison when he returned, and was kept nine months in confinement.

Greedy for more money than he could gain by extortion, Cranfield summoned an assembly, and laid before them a bill for raising money to defend the province and to defray *other* necessary charges. The assembly refused to pass the bill; when he, in a rage, told them that they had been to consult Moody and other enemies of the king and church of England, and dissolved them. In a spirit of revenge, he persuaded the courts of sessions to appoint several of the members constables

for the ensuing year; some of whom took the oath, and others paid the fine, which was ten pounds, and was one of his perquisites.

This Moody was a Puritan clergyman, who had rendered himself obnoxious by the plainness of his pulpit discourses, and had, moreover, given offence by a highly-honourable enforcement of church discipline against a man whose cause Cranfield had espoused. The penal laws against non-conformists were then executed with great rigour in England; and the governor, believing that his conduct would not be disavowed by his sovereign, declared, by proclamation, that all ministers, who should refuse to administer the Lord's supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, to any one requiring it, should suffer the penalty imposed by the statute of uniformity. A short time after, he gave notice to Moody that he intended to partake of the Lord's supper the next Sunday, and required him to administer it according to the Liturgy. Moody refused, and was indicted for his refusal. At first, four of the six justices were for acquitting him; but the trial being adjourned, Cranfield found means to change the opinions of two of the four; and he was sentenced to six months' confinement. The two justices, who remained inflexible, were removed from all their offices.

Notwithstanding the governor's efforts to prevent it, depositions proving his misconduct were forwarded to London; the lords of trade made a report censuring his conduct; and he, having previously solicited leave of absence, was allowed to return, and, on his arrival in England, was made collector of Barbadoes. Walter Barefoot was appointed deputy-governor, and held the office until Joseph Dudley was commissioned president over all New England.

For several years, the same governor presided over Massachusetts and New Hampshire. After Andros was deposed, the inhabitants of the latter colony desired to be incorporated with their former brethren. Their request was opposed by Samuel Allen, who had purchased Mason's title, and was refused. Allen was made governor of the colony, and, by his influence, John Usher, his son-in-law, was appointed lieutenant-governor. Under his administration, the disputes occasioned by adverse claims to land continued to rage with increased violence. Other suits were instituted, and judgments obtained: but the sheriff was forcibly resisted by a powerful combination, whenever he attempted to put the plaintiff in possession.

From Indian wars this colony suffered more than any of her sisters. The Indians who had been dismissed unarmed by Major Waldron had not forgotten what they considered his

breach of faith; some of those who had been sold into slavery had returned, and thirsted for revenge. New causes of offence had been given by Cranfield; and Castine, a Frenchman, who had a trading establishment east of the Penobscot, having been wronged, as he thought, by Andros, inflamed their animosity. In 1689, though peace prevailed, several tribes united to surprise Dover, and take vengeance on Waldron.

Having determined upon their plan of attack, they employed more than their usual art to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. So civil and respectful was their behaviour, that they often obtained permission to sleep in the fortified houses in the town. On the evening of the fatal night, they assembled in the neighbourhood, and sent their women to apply for lodgings at the houses devoted to destruction; who were not only admitted, but were shown how they could open the doors should they have occasion to go out in the night.

When all was quiet, the doors were opened, and the signal given. The Indians rushed into Waldron's house, and hastened to his apartment. Awakened by the noise, he seized his sword, and drove them back, but, when returning for his other arms, was stunned with a hatchet, and fell. They then dragged him into his hall, seated him in an elbow-chair, upon a long table, and insultingly asked him, "Who shall judge Indians now?" After feasting upon provisions which they compelled the rest of the family to procure, each one, with a knife, cut gashes across his breast, saying, "I cross out my account." When, weakened with the loss of blood, he was about to fall from the table, his own sword was held under him, which put an end to his misery.

At other houses, similar acts of cruelty were perpetrated. In the whole, twenty-three persons were killed, twenty-nine carried prisoners to Canada, and mostly sold to the French. Remembering kindness as well as injury, they spared one woman, who, thirteen years before, had conferred a favour on one of the party. Many houses were burned; much property was plundered; and so expeditious were the Indians, that they had fled beyond reach before the neighbouring people could be collected.

The war thus commenced was prosecuted with great vigour. The French, by giving premiums for scalps, and by purchasing the English prisoners, animated the Indians to exert all their activity and address, and the frontier inhabitants endured the most aggravated sufferings. The settlements on Oyster River were again surprised; twenty houses were burned, and nearly one hundred persons were killed or made prisoners. Other towns were attacked, many persons slain, and many carried into captivity. The peace of Ryswick, into 1697, closed the

distressing scene. In 1703, another war began, which continued ten years.

A colony of Scotch Presbyterians had removed to Ireland in the reign of James I. The persecutions which they suffered in subsequent reigns induced many of them to seek a home in America : and in 1718, about one hundred families arrived, in five ships, at Boston. After inquiry, a part of them determined to settle at a place called Nuffield, in New Hampshire. In the spring of the next year, they repaired to that place, and on the first evening after their arrival, listened to a sermon under a large oak, from James M'Gregor, whom they afterwards called to be their minister. They introduced the foot spinning-wheel, the manufacture of linen, and the culture of potatoes. The town was afterwards incorporated by the name of Londonderry, from a city of that name in Ireland, in which some of the emigrants had endured the hardships of a memorable siege.

These emigrants, unable to procure any other title, obtained such as Colonel Wheelwright could give by virtue of a license granted, nearly one hundred years before, by the Indians, to John Wheelwright, his ancestor. The people witnessed with dissatisfaction this appropriation, by foreigners, of land which they had defended. It was the interest of all that the settlements should be extended ; many residents of the colony were anxious to obtain grants ; but the claim of the assignees of Mason was in the way. At length, petitions being presented, notice to all claimants given, and no objections made, the governor, 1722, granted the townships of Chester, Nottingham, Barrington, and Rochester. Previously, but few settlements had been made beyond the original limits of Exeter, Portsmouth and Dover.

From 1722 to 1726, the inhabitants again suffered the afflictions of an Indian war. Following the example of the French, the government offered premiums for scalps, which induced several volunteer companies to undertake expeditions against the enemy. One of these, commanded by Captain Lovewell, was greatly distinguished, at first by its success, and afterwards by its misfortunes.

A history of these Indian wars might be interesting, but would not be instructive. An account of the continual quarrels between the assignees of Mason and the people ; between the governors and the assemblies ; between the governors and lieutenant-governors ; and between Massachusetts and New Hampshire concerning boundaries, would be neither. It may not be unimportant to allude to the frequent contests between the surveyors of the king's woods and the people. It was the duty of this officer to mark, with a broad arrow, all pine trees suitable for the royal navy ; and these the people were for-

bidden to cut. The prohibition was often violated, and prosecutions were frequently instituted. Sometimes logs were seized at the mill, and then forcible resistance was not unusual. Once the surveyor, with his assistants, went to Exeter to seize logs, but on the evening of his arrival was attacked by a party dressed and painted like Indians, and severely beaten. The dispute about boundaries was decided, by the king, contrary to the plain letter of the charters, in favour of New Hampshire, for the reason, it has been hinted, that, by so deciding, the land bearing the best of mast trees would be assigned to her, in which case they would be the property of the crown, while all that grew in Massachusetts belonged to that colony.

Long after the transfer from Mason to Allen, some defect in the conveyance was discovered, which rendered it void. In 1746, John Tufton Mason, a descendant of the original grantee, claiming the lands possessed by his ancestors, conveyed them, for fifteen hundred pounds, to twelve persons, subsequently called the Masonian proprietors. They, to silence opposition, voluntarily relinquished their claim to the lands already occupied by others.

They also granted townships on the most liberal terms. Reserving certain portions of the land for themselves, for the first settled ministers, and for schools, they required merely that the grantees should, within a limited time, erect mills and meeting-houses, clear out roads, and settle ministers of the gospel. In process of time, nearly all the Masonian lands, being about one fourth of the whole, were, in this manner, granted; and contention and lawsuits ceased to disturb the repose, and to impede the prosperity, of the colony.

CHAPTER V.

RHODE ISLAND.

In the history of Massachusetts it has been stated that Roger Williams, a clergyman of Salem, was, in 1634, banished from that colony. He did not immediately depart: but in January, 1636, learning that preparations were made to send him to England, he left his home, and, after wandering in the woods, and residing many weeks with the Indians, arrived and seated himself at Seekonk. The governor of Plymouth warned him that the place was within the limits of that colony; and he therefore, in June, descended the Pawtucket, and, turning round Fox Point, slaked his thirst at a spring on the bank, which is yet shown to the curious in traditionary lore. Near

this spring he erected his habitation; and, in grateful acknowledgment of "God's merciful providence to him in his distress," he called the place Providence.

He found the land on which he had seated himself to be within the territory of the Narraganset Indians. In 1638, he purchased it of Canonicus and Miantonomoh, two of their chiefs. He divided it freely among all who would come and dwell upon it, "reserving to himself not one foot of land, nor one tittle of political power." Many soon settled around him; magistrates were not known; the people in a body exercised legislative, judicial, and executive power. It was one of the charges against him in Massachusetts, that he had avowed the doctrine that "to punish a man for matter of conscience is persecution." In his exile, he adhered to that doctrine; he welcomed all who came; and the patriarch of the settlement would allow no one to be answerable for his religious opinions at any tribunal but his Maker's. The charter of Maryland was the first that secured liberty of conscience to all Christian sects; the charity of Roger Williams embraced Jews, Mohammedans, and all the heathen.

His benevolence was not confined to his civilized brethren. He laboured to enlighten, improve, and conciliate the savages. He learned their language, travelled among them, and gained the entire confidence of their chiefs. He had often the happiness, by his influence over them, of saving from injury the colony that had proclaimed him an outlaw, and driven him into the wilderness.

In 1638, William Coddington, and seventeen others, being persecuted for their religious tenets in Massachusetts, followed Williams to Providence. By his advice, they purchased of the Indians the Island of Aquetnec, now called Rhode Island, and removed thither. Coddington was chosen their judge, or chief magistrate. The fertility of the soil, and the toleration of all Christian sects, attracted numerous emigrants from the adjacent settlements.

When the New England colonies, in 1643, formed their memorable confederacy, Rhode Island applied to be admitted a member. Plymouth objected, asserting that the settlements were within her boundaries. The commissioners decided that Rhode Island might enjoy all the advantages of the confederacy, if she would submit to the jurisdiction of Plymouth. She declined, proudly preferring independence to all the benefits of dependent union.

In 1643, Williams went to England as agent for both settlements; and the next year obtained, by the influence of Sir Henry Vane, a patent from the parliament, then exercising the supreme power, by which the town of Portsmouth and the adjacent settlements were incorpo-

governing themselves. In 1647, all the freemen met at Portsmouth were incorporated, enacted a code of laws, and established a civil government. An assembly was constituted, to consist of six representatives from each town; and the executive and supreme judicial power was vested in a president and four assistants. Town courts were established for the trial of small causes, with an appeal to the president and assistants.

The executive committee of parliament had given to Coddington a commission to govern the islands in the bay. This interfered with the patent which had been granted at the solicitation of Williams, and threatened the dismemberment of the colony. In 1651, he and John Clarke were appointed agents, and sent to England to persuade the committee to withdraw the commission. Again he sought the assistance of Vane, and again succeeded. He returned to Rhode Island; Clarke remained in London, and long acted as the faithful agent of the colony.

Upon the application of the inhabitants, the king, in 1663, granted a charter incorporating the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. It declared that no person should be molested or called in question for any difference in matters of religion. For the government of the colony, it vested the supreme power in an assembly, to consist of a governor or deputy-governor, ten assistants, and representatives from the several towns, all to be chosen by the freemen. This charter still remains in force; the state not having, like her sisters, formed a constitution for herself.

The benevolence, justice, and pacific policy of Williams secured to the colony an almost total exemption from Indian hostility. He continued to reside at Providence, sometimes, by the choice of the people, continuing to hold the office of president, sometimes that of assistant, and sometimes that of deputy. He died in 1683, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

When Andros was made governor of New England, he dissolved the charter government of Rhode Island, and ruled the colony with the assistance of a council appointed by himself. After he was deposed and imprisoned at Boston, the freemen met at Newport, and voted to resume their charter. All the officers who had been displaced three years before were re-chosen; and all accepted the several offices, but Walter Clarke, who was re-chosen governor. In his stead, the assembly appointed Henry Bull, a Quaker, the only one living of all who came with Coddington, in 1638.

The colony, happily situated for commerce, cheaply governed, too small to attract the cupidity of England, increased continually in wealth and population. In 1730, the number

of inhabitants was eighteen thousand; in 1761, it was forty thousand. Brown University was founded at Warren in 1764, and was removed, a few years after, to Providence. It takes its name from Nicholas Brown, who gave to the institution five thousand dollars.

CHAPTER VI.

CONNECTICUT.

In the year 1630, the Plymouth company granted to the Earl of Warwick, and in 1631, the earl assigned to Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and others, the territory which now constitutes the state of Connecticut. Among the assignees, besides those mentioned, were Rich, Fiennes, Pym, and Hamden, distinguished Puritans, and active friends of liberty in the contest between King Charles and the parliament. So little was then known of the geography of the country, that the grant was made to extend, in longitude, from the Atlantic to the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. It was upon this clause in her charter, that Connecticut, long afterwards, founded her claim to land in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

About the time of the date of the grant, a chief of an Indian tribe which owned the country on Connecticut River, visited Plymouth and Boston, and earnestly solicited the respective governors to make a settlement on that river. He described the country as exceedingly fertile, and promised to pay eighty beaver-skins a year to the one who should comply with his request. It is supposed that his object was, not only to profit from the trade of the English, but to secure their aid to protect his tribe from their enemies, the Pequods. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, and a few others, accordingly visited the country, and selected a place near the mouth of the little river in Windsor, for the establishment of a trading house.

The Dutch at New York, apprised of this project of the English, determined to anticipate them, and immediately despatched a party, who erected a fort at Hartford. In September, 1633, a company from Plymouth, having prepared the frame of a house, put it on board a vessel, and, passing the fort, conveyed it to the place previously selected. In October, they raised, covered, and fortified it with palisades. The Dutch, considering them intruders, sent, the next year, a band of seventy men to drive them from the country; but, finding them strongly posted, they relinquished the design.

In the autumn of 1635, many of the inhabitants of Dorches-

ter and Watertown, in Massachussets, having heard of the fertile meadows on Connecticut River, removed thither, and began settlements at Weathersfield and Windsor. During the next winter, their sufferings from famine were extreme. So destitute were they of provisions, that many, in dread of starvation, returned, in December, to Massachussets. In their journey through the dreary wilderness, at this inclement season, they encountered indescribable hardships.

In the same year, the assignees above named, desirous of commencing a settlement, sent over, as their agent and governor, Mr. John Winthrop, of Massachussets, with instructions to erect a fort at the mouth of the river, and commodious houses, as well for settlers, as for such gentlemen of quality as might determine to emigrate. Hearing, at Boston, where he landed, that the Dutch were preparing to take possession of the same place, he repaired thither immediately, began his fort, and mounted his cannon. A few days afterwards, a party of Dutch troops arrived, but were not permitted to land.

The next spring, those who had been compelled by famine to revisit Massachussets, returned to Connecticut. In June, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Cambridge, "the light of the western churches," and about one hundred men, women, and children, belonging to his congregation, left their homes to establish themselves on Connecticut River. Their route lay through an unexplored wilderness. They travelled on foot, drove their cattle before them, and subsisted on the milk of their cows. They had no guide but the compass, no shelter, no pillow, and no guard. Many had recently left England, where they had lived in comfort and affluence. Mrs. Hooker was borne on a litter. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey, travelling but ten miles a day. They seated themselves at Hartford, having first purchased lands of the Indians.

In 1637, all the settlements in New England were involved in hostilities with the Pequods, a tribe of Indians inhabiting New London and the country around it. Some account of this war has been given in the history of Massachussets. Previous to any expedition against them, they had killed many of the emigrants to Connecticut, had captured others, and tortured them to death. In the short war which followed, their surviving brethren, for bravery in battle, and fortitude in suffering, were not surpassed by any portion of the English troops.

At first, the emigrants acknowledged the authority of Massachussets. In January, 1639, the freemen, having convened at Hartford, adopted a constitution for themselves. They ordained that two general courts, or assemblies, should be held annually, one in April, the other in September; that at the

court held in April, styled the Court of Election, all the free-men should assemble together, and choose a governor, six magistrates, and all the public officers; that the several towns should choose deputies, who should meet, as well when the court of election was held, in April, as in September, and they, in conjunction with the governor and magistrates, should have power to enact laws, "and, for want thereof, according to the rule of the word of God." At this time, the colony consisted of only three towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield; each of which was empowered to send four deputies.

In the same year, George Fenwick, one of the patentees, came over with his family, and settled at the mouth of the river. In honour of Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, he called the place Saybrook. Others afterwards joined him, and for several years they were governed by their own magistrates and laws. In 1644, Mr. Fenwick, for seven thousand dollars, assigned to the general court of Connecticut the fort at Saybrook, and all the rights conferred by the patent from the Plymouth Company in England. This settlement then became a part of the colony. The claim of Plymouth colony, founded upon their having first made an establishment at Windsor, had been previously purchased.

In the mean time, another colony had been planted within the limits of the Connecticut patent. In June, 1637, two large ships arrived at Boston from England, having on board Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton, and many others, whom pious motives had impelled to emigrate to New England. Being highly respectable, and some of them possessing great wealth, the general court of Massachusetts, desirous of detaining them in the colony, offered them any place they might select for a plantation.

Wishing, however, to institute a civil and religious community, conforming in all things to their peculiar principles, they removed, the next year, to Quinnipiac, which they called New Haven. Soon after their arrival, at the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they subscribed what they termed a Plantation Covenant, solemnly binding themselves, "until otherwise ordered, to be governed in all things, of a civil as well as religious concern, by the rules which the Scripture held forth to them." They purchased of the natives large tracts of land, and laid out their town in squares, designing for a great and elegant city.

In 1639, all the free planters, assembled in a large barn, proceeded to lay the foundation of their civil and religious policy. They resolved that none but church members should be allowed the privilege of voting, or be elected to office; that all

the freemen of the colony should annually assemble, and elect the officers of the colony; and that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of the commonwealth. Such was the original constitution of New Haven; but as the population increased, and new towns were settled, different regulations were adopted, and the institutions and laws became gradually assimilated to those of Connecticut.

With the Dutch at New York, both colonies had constant and vexatious disputes. The former claimed all the territory as far east as Connecticut River: the latter complained that the Dutch often plundered their property; that they sold guns and ammunition to the Indians, and even encouraged them to make war upon the English. The fear of attack from that quarter was one of the reasons which, in 1643, induced the colonies of New England to form a confederation for their defence.

The criminal code of Connecticut was completed in the year 1642. Idolatry, blasphemy, witchcraft, unnatural lusts, man-stealing, cursing or smiting father or mother, and several other crimes, were made punishable with death. In the statute, the several passages of Scripture, upon which the various enactments were founded, were referred to.

Tobacco having just begun to come into use, a law was passed, in 1647, that no person under twenty years of age, nor any other who had not already accustomed himself to the use of it, should take any, without having obtained a certificate from a physician that it was useful to him, and also a license from the court. The penalty was a fine of sixpence, which was ordered to be paid "without gainsaying."

In 1650, a treaty of amity and partition was concluded at Hartford, between the English and Dutch, the latter relinquishing their claim to the territory of Connecticut, except the lands which they actually occupied. Soon after, England and Holland were involved in war with each other, but their colonies in America agreed to remain at peace. Notwithstanding this agreement, the Dutch governor was detected in concerting with the Indians a plot for the total extirpation of the English.

Connecticut and New Haven were alarmed; a meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies was called, and evidence of the plot laid before them. A majority was in favour of war; but the colony of Massachusetts, being remote from the danger, was averse to it. As she was much stronger than either of the others, it was, at the suggestion of her deputies, resolved that agents should first be sent to demand of the Dutch governor an explanation of his conduct.

The agents obtained no satisfactory explanation. On their return, another meeting of the commissioners was held at

Boston, additional testimony was laid before them, and several ministers of Massachusetts were invited to assist at their deliberations—a practice not unusual at that period. The ministers, after considering the subject, declared, “that the proofs of the execrable plot, tending to the destruction of the dear saints of God, were of such weight as to induce them to believe the reality of it; yet they were not so fully conclusive as to bear up their hearts with the fulness of persuasion which was meet in commending the case to God in prayer, and to the people in exhortations; and that it would be safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword.” But all the commissioners, except one, were of opinion that recent aggressions justified, and self-preservation dictated, an appeal to the sword. They were about to declare war, when the general court of Massachusetts, in direct violation of one of the articles of the confederation, resolved, “that no determination of the commissioners, though all should agree, should bind the colony to engage in hostilities.”

At this declaration, Connecticut and New Haven felt alarmed and indignant. They considered the other colonies too weak, without the assistance of Massachusetts, to contend with the Dutch and their Indian allies. They argued, entreated, and remonstrated, but she continued inflexible. They then represented their danger to Cromwell, and implored his assistance. He, with his usual promptitude, sent a fleet for their protection, and for the conquest of their enemies; but peace in Europe, intelligence of which reached New England soon after the arrival of the fleet, saved the Dutch from subjugation, and relieved the colonies from the dread of massacre.

After Charles II. was restored to the throne, Connecticut applied to him for a royal charter. A trifling circumstance induced him, forgetting all his arbitrary maxims, to comply with her wishes to their utmost extent. Her agent, Mr. Winthrop, having an extraordinary ring, which had been given to his grandfather by Charles I., presented it to his son. He immediately granted a charter more liberal in its provisions than any that had yet been granted, and confirming, in every particular, the constitution which the people had themselves adopted.

This charter comprehended New Haven; but, for several years, the people of that colony utterly refused to consent to the union. In this opposition to the commands of the king and the remonstrances of Connecticut, they persevered until 1665, when the apprehension of the appointment of a general governor, and of their being united with some other colony, having a charter less favourable to liberty, impelled them, though reluctantly, to yield.

In the war with Philip, which began in 1675, Connecticut

suffered less than her sister colonies. Her aid, however, in full proportion to her strength, was always freely afforded; and no troops surpassed her volunteers in bravery and enterprise. A large number, and many of them officers, were killed at the assault upon the fort at Narraganset.

When Charles II., in 1664, granted the New Netherlands to the duke of York, the territory of Connecticut was included in the same patent. In 1675, Major Andros, who had been appointed his governor by the duke, came by water, with an armed force, to Saybrook, to take possession of the fort at that place. Information of his purpose had been communicated to Deputy-Governor Leet, who despatched Captain Bull, with a detachment of the militia of Hartford, to oppose him. On his arrival there, he found the fort already manned by the militia of the place. Major Andros, being permitted to land, directed his secretary to read his commission in presence of the assembled people. Captain Bull, with resolute voice and manner, commanded the secretary to forbear; and proceeded himself to read a protest which had been forwarded by the assembly, then sitting at Hartford. The major, seeing himself the weakest, and pleased with Bull's boldness and soldier-like appearance, told him his horns ought to be tipped with gold, desisted, and returned to New York.

The lords of trade and plantations, desirous of obtaining information concerning the colonies, forwarded certain queries to the several governors, which they were requested to answer. By the reply of the governor of Connecticut, dated in 1680, it appears that the colony then contained twenty-six towns; that the militia consisted of two thousand five hundred and seven; that the annual exports amounted to forty-four thousand dollars; that the whole number of trading vessels was twenty-seven, the tonnage of which was one thousand and fifty tons. The population is supposed to have been about twelve thousand.

In 1686, King James II., desirous of annulling, not only the charters which had been granted to his English cities, but those also which had been granted to his American colonies, summoned the governor of Connecticut to appear and show cause why her charter should not be declared void; and Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor of New England, advised the colony, as the course best calculated to insure the good-will of his majesty, to resign it voluntarily into his hands, he having been instructed to receive it. But the people estimated too highly the privileges it conferred to surrender it until necessity compelled them.

Sir Edmund, therefore, repaired, with a body of troops, to Hartford, where the assembly were in session, and demanded of them the charter. They hesitated and debated until even-

ing. It was then produced, and laid upon the table, a large number of people being present. Suddenly, the candles were extinguished. With counterfeited haste they were again relighted; but the charter could no where be found. In the dark, it had been privately carried off by a Captain Wadsworth, and concealed in a hollow tree. Sir Edmund, however, assumed the government of the colony, and ruled with the same absolute sway, though not with the same oppressive tyranny, as in Massachusetts.

When James was driven from his throne and kingdom, and his governor deposed, Connecticut resumed her former government. The assembly voted a flattering address to King William. The suit, instituted for the purpose of annulling her charter, was abandoned; and her inhabitants, while enjoying greater privileges than any of their brethren, had reason to congratulate themselves upon their address and good fortune in preserving them.

But, not long afterwards, they were again called upon to defend these privileges from encroachment. In 1692, Colonel Fletcher was appointed governor of New York, and was authorized, by his commission, to take command of the militia of Connecticut. This power having been given, by the charter, to the governor of the colony, he determined not to relinquish it, and in this determination was supported by the people.

The next year, when the general court were in session, Colonel Fletcher repaired to Hartford, and required that the militia of the colony should be placed under his command. This was resolutely refused. He then ordered the train-bands of the city to be assembled. This being done, he appeared before them, and directed his aid to read to them his commission and instructions from the king.

Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer of the militia, present, instantly ordered the drums to beat; and such was the noise, that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence; and again his aid began to read. "Drum, drum, I say!" exclaimed Wadsworth; and a command so acceptable to the players was obeyed with spirit. Once more the colonel commanded silence, and a pause ensued. "Drum, drum, I say!" cried the captain, and, turning to Governor Fletcher, addressed him, with energy in his voice, and meaning in his looks—"If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!"

Deeming it unwise to contend with such a spirit, Colonel Fletcher desisted, left Hartford the next night, and returned to New York. A representation of the opposing claims being made to the king, he decided that the governor of Connecticut should have the command of the militia; but in time of war, a certain number should be placed under the orders of Fletcher.

In 1700, Yale College was founded. It owes its existence to the beneficence and public spirit of the clergy. It was first established at Saybrook; and, in 1702, the first degrees were there conferred. Elihu Yale made several donations to the institution, and from him it derives the name it bears. A succession of able instructors has raised it to a high rank among the literary institutions of the country.

In 1708, an act was passed by the legislature, requiring the ministers and delegates of churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution for the colony. A meeting was in consequence held at Saybrook, the result of which was the celebrated Saybrook Platform. At the subsequent session of the legislature, it was enacted that all the churches, united according to this Platform, should be owned as established by law, allowing, however, to other churches the right of exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences.

In the several abortive attempts to reduce the French settlements in Canada, and in the expedition against Louisburg, Connecticut furnished her full quota of troops, and bore her proportion of the expenses. Of these a history is elsewhere given. After the death of Philip, most of the Indians abandoned her territory, and seldom returned to molest the inhabitants; who, living in the enjoyment of all the privileges they desired, felt no inducement, and were afforded no opportunity, to perform such actions as enliven the pages of history.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW YORK.

THE object of Columbus, in his first voyage, was to arrive at the East Indies by sailing directly west. By the discoveries then and afterwards made, it was ascertained that a continent or large island lay in that route; and, as its extent was not known, subsequent navigators imagined that those rich countries might be reached by sailing around its northern extremity. Among those who then endeavoured to discover this North-West Passage, in search of which heroism and fortitude have been displayed in recent times, was Henry Hudson, an Englishman. For this purpose, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he made, in the employment of English merchants, two voyages into the seas around Spitzbergen and Greenland. His employers were discouraged by his ill success; but he, still animated by hope, soon after proposed to the

Dutch East India Company to sail, in search of the passage, in their service.

They provided a small vessel, with which, in the spring of 1609, he departed on his third voyage. Passing beyond Greenland, he came to the American continent, and then, turning south, sailed along the coast as far as Chesapeake Bay, in the hope, of which we now see the folly, of finding some strait leading to the ocean which washes the shores of Hindostan. He then turned back, entered, first, Delaware Bay, and, in September, the harbour of New York. He sailed up the river which bears his name, until he had passed the highlands, and sent a boat to explore it farther, which ascended above Albany. He traded and fought with the natives who dwelt on its banks, returned to the ocean, and, near the close of the year, arrived at Dartmouth, in England.

He sent to his employers a flattering account of the countries which he had visited, and in subsequent years ships were despatched by merchants of Amsterdam to traffic with the natives on the banks of the Hudson. Upon the Island of New York, then called Manhattan, a fort was erected in 1614, and the next year another, called Fort Orange, on an island just below Albany. Trade with the natives, not planting a colony, was the sole object of these voyages.

It has already been related, that Argal, coming from Virginia to Manhattan in 1613, obliged the Dutch traders to submit to the English. They yielded only to superior force, and, as soon as he had left them, ceased to think of English supremacy. In 1614, the government of the Netherlands granted to a company the exclusive right, for a short period, of trading with new-discovered lands. In 1618, a charter was granted to another company, but under it no measures were undertaken. In 1651, the Dutch West India Company was incorporated, to which was granted the exclusive right of trading to the American coast. This company directed their attention principally to that part of the country, visited by Hudson, between Delaware Bay and Connecticut River, which became known by the name of New Netherlands. Delaware River was called South River; the Hudson, sometimes, the North River; and the Connecticut, Fresh River. In 1624, they built a fort on the Delaware, a few miles below Camden, and called it Fort Nassau. Peter Minnits was sent over by the company, as their commercial agent, and for six years performed the duties of governor. The traders dwelt in huts on the Island of Manhattan. Fort Orange was an outpost for the convenience of trading with the Indians, who roamed the forests between that place and the great river of Canada. It is not known that any family came to the country before 1625, when a child of European parentage was born on Long Island.

In 1629, the company began to think of planting a colony in the New Netherlands. An ordinance was adopted that any one who, within four years, should transport fifty souls, and purchase the Indian title, should become lord of the manor, or patron, and have the absolute property of the land he should colonize. The tract might extend, if lying on one side of the river only, sixteen miles; if on both sides, eight miles thereon, and indefinitely into the country. Several tracts were taken up, or patented; and it was about this time that five Indian chiefs, for parcels of goods, sold to an agent of Van Rensselaer a tract extending from the mouth of the Mohawk to twelve miles south of Albany. Peter Minuits was displaced, and Walter Van Twiller appointed in his stead.

In 1633, Van Twiller built a fort at Hartford, which he called the Hirse of Good Hope; and the Dutch, for many years, maintained a trading establishment at that place. In 1638, William Kieft was appointed governor. He had petty, but troublesome, contests with the English on Connecticut River, and with the Swedes who had begun a settlement on the Delaware. With the Indians he had severer conflicts. A Dutchman was killed by an Indian who had been robbed. The chiefs could not give up the murderer, but offered two hundred fathoms of wampum to purchase peace. Kieft preferred vengeance, and, seeking a favourable opportunity, despatched to one of their own towns a party of soldiers, who fell upon the unsuspecting Indians, and barbarously massacred nearly a hundred. A fierce and furious war followed. Dutch Villages were laid waste; and many men, women, and children were killed, and many made captive.

The colony was threatened with ruin, and sought for peace. At a conference held on Long Island between Dutch agents and Indian chiefs, one of the latter addressed the former—"When you first arrived on our shores, you were destitute of food; we gave you our beans and our corn; we fed you with oysters and fish; and now, for our recompense, you murder our people. The traders whom your first ships left on our shores to traffic till their return, were cherished by us; we gave them our daughters for their wives; among those whom you have murdered were children of your own blood." By the mediation of Roger Williams, then fortuitously at Manhattan, a piece was concluded.

But the thirst of vengeance was not appeased, and the war was renewed. Kieft appointed Captain Underhill, who had been a soldier in Europe, and had made himself conspicuous in New Hampshire for his eccentricities in religion and conduct, to the command of his troops. Collecting a flying party of one hundred and fifty men, he was enabled to preserve the settlements from total destruction. The number of Indians

whom he killed in the course of the war was supposed to exceed four hundred. A severe battle was fought on that part of Horseneck called Strickland's Plain. The Dutch were victorious: on both sides great numbers were slain; and for a century afterwards the graves of the dead were distinctly visible.

Peace was again concluded, to the great joy of the colony; but Kieft was execrated as the guilty cause of their sufferings. In 1648, he set sail for Holland, but suffered shipwreck on the coast of Wales, and perished. He was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, the most able and intelligent of all the Dutch governors. Hitherto the company had retained a monopoly of the trade of the colony: now it was made free to all; export duties were substituted; and the change had a favourable influence upon the prosperity of the colony.

But the Puritans pressed upon their eastern boundary, and they trembled for their establishment at Hartford. In 1650, Stuyvesant met the commissioners of the New England colonies at that place, where, after much altercation, a line of partition between their respective territories was agreed upon. Long Island was divided between them; the Dutch retained the lands which they actually occupied in Connecticut, and surrendered all claim to the residue.

The Swedes, on their south-western boundary, were not so powerful as the Puritans. The Dutch had built a fort at New Castle, which Risingh, the governor of the Swedes, having for the moment the superiority of numbers, attacked and captured. Stuyvesant collected a force of six hundred men, subjugated the Swedes, and established over the country the jurisdiction of the Dutch.

The mercantile corporation which governed the New Netherlands took little thought of the religious belief of its inhabitants. All sects were tolerated; and immigrants came from all quarters. Many came from New England, and brought with them the activity of mind and love of freedom which distinguished that region. The leaven was sufficient to produce fermentation. A meeting of the people was held, at which a memorial, drawn up by George Baxter, a Puritan, was unanimously adopted, demanding "that no new laws should be enacted but with consent of the people, and that none should be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people." Stuyvesant pronounced these "the visionary notions of a New England man." "We derive our authority," said he, "from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects;" and he commanded the assembly to disperse on pain of arbitrary punishment.

But the time was near when a change of masters would bring in its train the enjoyment of English liberties. England

had always claimed the whole country since its discovery by the Cabots, and Charles II. now determined to assert his right to it. In 1664, he granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, several tracts of land in America, and among them Long Island, and all the territory between Connecticut River and Delaware Bay; and, though England and Holland were then at peace, immediately sent three ships and six hundred troops to put him in possession of his grant. Colonel Robert Nichols conducted the expedition. The squadron, having visited Boston, reached the place of its destination in August, and Nichols immediately sent to the governor a summons to surrender. Stuyvesant refused; and thereupon Nichols, aware of the discontents which existed among the people, published a proclamation, promising that, should the place be peaceably surrendered, they should enjoy their property, and all the rights of English subjects. The burgomasters and people assembled in the town hall, and there agreed upon terms of capitulation, which were afterwards ratified by Nichols and Stuyvesant. Soon afterwards, detachments from the fleet took possession of Fort Orange and the forts on the Delaware. In compliment to the duke, the name Manhattan was changed to New York, and Orange to Albany.

Nichols assumed the government of the country, and continued, for three years, to rule over it with absolute power, but with great lenity and justice. To secure the Indians from fraud, he ordained that no purchase of land from them should be valid, if made without the governor's license. He incorporated the inhabitants of New York, ordaining that the officers should be a mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff; before, they were a scout, burgomasters, and schepens. In 1667, he was succeeded by Colonel Francis Lovelace. He is represented as a moderate and just man; but many of the people complained that the privileges of Englishmen were withheld, and refused to pay the taxes which he imposed. That the discontent was general, is probable, from the known arbitrary principles of the Duke of York, and the love of freedom of the population.

In 1673, England and Holland being then at war, several Dutch ships were despatched to re-conquer the country. On their arrival at Staten Island, a few miles below the city, John Manning, who had command of the fort, sent down a messenger, and treacherously made terms with the enemy. The Dutch sailed up the harbour, landed their men, and took possession of the fort and city without firing or receiving a shot. The forts on the Delaware submitted also without resistance.

Captain Anthony Colve was appointed governor; but he remained in authority for a few months only. The next year, peace was concluded, and the country restored to the English.

The Duke of York, apprehensive that the conquest by the Dutch deprived him of all his rights, and that they were not restored to him by the treaty, obtained a new patent, confirming his title to the province, and appointed Major Andros, the same who was afterwards the tyrant of New England, to be governor over his territories in America.

Andros was inducted into office on the 31st of October, 1674. From his official acts, he seems to have been invested with supreme power. The next year, he appointed a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, for the city of New York, and ordered that four aldermen should constitute a sort of sessions; he imposed taxes at pleasure; and, moreover, on the recommendation of the duke, appointed one Nicholas Rensselaer, a Dutch clergyman, and claiming the manor of Rensselaerwick, to be minister of a church at Albany. As the duke was a Catholic, and as the Catholics, from their numerous bloody persecutions and universal intolerance, were regarded by the people, who were nearly all Protestants, with dislike and dread, the congregation were not disposed to receive for their minister a man recommended by him and appointed by his governor. A quarrel ensued; the magistrates of Albany, among whom was one Jacob Leisler, imprisoned Rensselaer upon a charge of uttering certain "dubious words" in a sermon. Andros released him, and caused warrants to be issued to compel the magistrates to give security, in the sum of five thousand pounds, to appear and justify themselves for confining Rensselaer. Leisler refused to give the security, and was imprisoned. Andros, fearing to increase the excitement, desisted from his pretensions. The obnoxious minister returned home, and the manor was afterwards confirmed to his relative, Killian van Rensselaer.

As the privileges of Englishmen, promised at the time of the surrender to Nichols, had never yet been enjoyed, the people evinced their discontent. Long Island was settled principally from New England. Before the grant to the duke, the eastern part of it belonged to Connecticut, and then of course exercised the privilege of choosing representatives. Several towns on the island held public meetings, and expressed their desire to enjoy their promised privileges; and some of the merchants of New York denied the legality of duties imposed arbitrarily. Dyer, the collector, was indicted as a traitor, for encroaching upon the liberties of the English subjects, and was sent to England for trial. Disturbed by the opposition of the people, Andros made a voyage to London for instructions. The duke conceded nothing, but that the present duties should expire at the end of three years. After the governor's return, the duties were increased; and, regardless of former experience, he interfered in religious matters, by attempting to ex-

ercise control over the Reformed Dutch Church, which increased the disgust and jealousy of the people.

In 1683, Andros was recalled, and Colonel Thomas Dongan appointed governor in his stead. He was a Catholic, but, being a wise and just man, had proper conceptions of his duties as governor, and disdained to submit to be, in all things, the instrument of the duke. It is said that William Penn advised the duke to allow the people to choose representatives. He, in fact, gave such instructions to Dongan. He sent over by him a "Charter of Liberties," which declared, that "supreme legislative power shall forever reside in the governor, council, and people, met in general assembly. Every freeholder and freeman shall vote for representatives without restraint. No freeman shall suffer but by judgment of his peers; and all trials shall be by a jury of twelve men. No tax shall be assessed, on any pretence whatever, but by the consent of the assembly. No martial law shall exist. No person, professing faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall, at any time, be any ways disquieted or questioned for any differences of opinion. The first assembly, consisting of seventeen members met in the following August, and enacted many important laws. The people were pacified, and enjoyed the prospect of a happy futurity. But for several subsequent years, no assembly it is believed was held in the colony.

During the whole of Colonel Dongan's administration, most of his time was occupied in the management of Indian affairs, in which he was sagacious, and generally successful. The interior of the colony was originally inhabited by a confederacy which consisted at first of five, and afterwards of six, nations of Indians, the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and Tuscaroras. This confederacy, tradition declares, was formed for mutual defence against the western Indians, and displayed much of the wisdom and sagacity which mark the institutions of a civilized people. By their union they had become formidable to the surrounding tribes. Their territory was prolific of game; they were brave in battle, and, beyond all other Indians, were eloquent in council. By some authors they are styled Iroquois, by others, Mingoes.

When Champlain was at Quebec, he, with a body of Frenchmen, accompanied a party of Canada Indians in an expedition against the confederates. The latter were defeated, and this defeat implanted in their bosoms an inveterate hostility against the French. The Dutch and English the more easily acquired and preserved their friendship; they enjoyed the profit of their trade, and were aided by them in all their wars. The governors of Canada often sent Jesuits and emissaries to convert them and gain their good will; but, not succeeding, they determined at length to treat them as enemies.

In 1684, De la Barre, the governor of Canada, marched to attack them, with an army of seventeen hundred men. His troops suffered so much from hardships, famine, and sickness, that he was compelled to ask peace of those whom he had come to exterminate. He invited the chiefs of the Five Nations to meet him at his camp, and those of three of them accepted the invitation. Standing in a circle, formed by the chiefs and his own officers, he addressed a speech to Garrangula, of the Onondag tribe, in which he accused the confederates of conducting the English to the trading grounds of the French, and threatened them with war and extermination if they did not alter their behaviour.

Garrangula, knowing the distresses of the French troops, heard these threats with contempt. After walking five or six times round the circle, he addressed the following bold and sarcastic language to De la Barre, calling him Yonnondio, and the English governor, Corlear.

"Yonnondio, I honour you, and warriors that are with me likewise honour you. Your interpreter has finished your speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them. Yonnondio, you must have believed, when you left Quebec, that the sun had consumed all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French; or that the great lakes had overflowed their banks, and surrounded our castles, so that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, you must have dreamed so, and the curiosity of so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now, you are undeceived; for I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you, that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Mohawks, are yet alive.

"I thank you, in their name, for bringing back into their country the pipe of peace, which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left underground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio: I do not sleep; I have my eyes open; and the sun, which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he was dreaming. He says that he only came to smoke the great pipe of peace with the Onondagas. But Garrangula says that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

"We carried the English to our lakes, to trade there with the Utawawas, and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacs brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use

them as such; command them to receive no other but your people.

"Hear, Yonnondio; what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. When they buried the hatchet at Cadaracqui, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that, instead of a retreat for soldiers, the fort might be a rendezvous for merchants. Take care that the many soldiers who appear there do not choke the tree of peace, and prevent it from covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you that our warriors shall dance under its leaves, and will never dig up the hatchet to cut it down, till their brother Yonnondio or Corlea shall invade the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors."

De la Barre was mortified and enraged at this bold and sarcastic reply, but, submitting to necessity, concluded a treaty of peace, and returned to Montreal. Soon after, De Nonville was appointed his successor. He brought over a reinforcement of troops; strengthened Fort Cadaracqui, afterwards called Fort Frontinac, and situated at the outlet of Lake Ontario, on the north shore; and called to his aid the Indians around the Lakes Michigan and Huron, with the purpose of destroying, at first the Senecas, and then the rest of the confederated tribes. In the mean time, he sent emissaries among them to allay their jealousy. But Colonel Dongan suspected his object; and though instructed by the duke—who was blindly attached to the French king—to co-operate with De Nonville, he, mindful of his duty to the province, admonished the Indians to be on their guard. In June, 1687, an army of French and Indians, nearly 3000 strong, proceeded from Montreal to attack the Senecas. They landed at Tirondiquai, marched to the villages of the Senecas, which they found deserted, and hastened forward in pursuit of the fugitives. But suddenly, from the trees, and bushes, and high grass around, a deadly fire was poured upon them from an invisible enemy. The terrible war-whoop, arising on all sides, increased the confusion. The French troops, scattering, sought safety in the woods; their Indian allies, less frightened, fought the Senecas in their own way, and at length compelled them to retire. De Nonville collected his troops, but, disheartened by the reception he had met with, proceeded no farther that day. On the next, he continued his march, but found no enemy to contend with. After destroying all the corn in that region, he led his troops to Niagara, and employed them in erecting a fort near the falls. In this fort, he left one hundred men, and returned to Montreal. It was afterwards besieged by the Iroquois, and all of the men but eight perished with hunger.

The Five Nations, enraged by treachery and stimulated by

success, assembled in great numbers, and made incursions into Canada. They compelled the French to abandon Fort Cadaracqui, and twice attacked Montreal, massacring more than a thousand of the inhabitants, and taking many prisoners, all of whom were tortured and burnt. These wars kept Colonel Dongan continually employed, and served to perpetuate the enmity of the Iroquois against the French, and their attachment to the English.

In the mean time, the duke of York had ascended the throne of England. Claiming unlimited authority as king, and professing the Catholic religion, he was hated and feared by a great portion of the inhabitants, who were devoted to the cause of freedom and to the principles of the Protestants. The governor was also the object of their dislike and distrust. Catholics, countenanced by him, repaired in great numbers to the colony, and pious Protestants trembled for their religion. He was recalled in the beginning of 1688; but the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros to be governor over New York as well as New England, did not tend to lessen their discontent nor their fears.

In the spring of 1689, information was received from England, that the people had resolved to dethrone their sovereign, and offer the crown to William, prince of Orange, the husband of Mary, daughter of King James; and from Massachusetts, that the citizens had deposed and imprisoned Sir Edmund Andros, their governor. A rumour ran through the city that, on the next Sunday, the Catholics would attack the people while at church, massacre them, and declare for King James; and messengers came from Long Island, increasing the alarm by expressing doubts and fears. Many of that class, who, as their enemies afterwards said, "were not worth a groat," assembled in a tumultuary manner, repaired to the house of Jacob Leisler, a captain of one of the militia companies, and a wealthy German merchant, and requested him to lead them to attack the fort. He at first declined; but a party led by Ensign Stoll, having taken possession, he, on the 2d of June, entered it as Stoll's superior officer, and was joyfully received by those who were present.

As yet, Leisler's party was not strong. No man of wealth or consideration had joined it. A report was circulated that three ships, with orders from the prince, were sailing up the harbour. All the militia companies immediately joined him; a large number of the citizens assembled, and, following the example of the Bostonians, chose a "Committee of Safety." Colonel Nicholson, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor by Andros, made some attempts to preserve his authority, but soon, absconding in the night, set sail for England. It was agreed that the captains of the several militia compa

should, in daily rotation, have command of the fort; but Leisler, from his age or standing in society, was regarded as the leader. Two delegates from Connecticut brought a copy of the proclamation, which had been issued in England, declaring William and Mary sovereigns of Great Britain, and delivered it to Leisler, who immediately, with all proper ceremony, proclaimed King William and Queen Mary, at first at the fort, and afterwards at the city hall, in the presence of the rejoicing people.

The men in authority, and "the men of figure," though friendly to the new sovereigns, were dissatisfied that all power should be usurped by the militia and their captains; and, unfortunately, the latter made no efforts to induce the former to unite with them. The mayor endeavoured to exercise authority, but in vain; Nicholas Bayard, who was colonel of the militia, repaired to the Bowling Green, where they were then paraded, and ordered them, after placing a guard at the fort, to disperse; but his commands were disregarded, and he was ordered to depart. Leisler wrote to the government in England, giving an account of his conduct, and also a private letter to the king, detailing, in broken English, many unimportant particulars. In August, Milbourne, his son-in-law, arrived from England, and afterwards acted as his secretary. He was more capable of managing affairs than his father-in-law, and was considered the efficient leader.

Heretofore the mayor, sheriff, and clerk, had been appointed by the governor, and the aldermen and assistants elected by the people. At the election in September, the people chose new aldermen and assistants, and also, by order of the committee of safety, a mayor, sheriff, and clerk; and, in October, Leisler, by proclamation, announced that, being authorized, by the committee, to confirm such officers as should be chosen by the Protestant freemen of the city, he accordingly confirmed by name the persons who had been elected. Van Cortlandt, the former mayor, and Colonel Bayard fled to Albany. Instructions from England had not yet been received; and they were waited for, by all classes, with great anxiety.

At Albany, the city government continued to exercise their former powers, but indecisively, as subordinates act when deprived of their leader. They gladly recognized William and Mary; but from them they had received no authority. They were kept in a state of alarm by intelligence that the savages were preparing to attack them; and they sent messengers to Leisler and the New England colonies for aid. Leisler, declaring that he had nothing to do with the civil power, forwarded some powder to the militia captains.

A suspicion was entertained at Albany that Leisler intended to send up troops, take possession of the fort, and govern in

that city as well as in New York. A convention of the people was held, at which they voted to maintain the existing city government until orders came from their majesties, and appointed Colonel Schuyler, the mayor, commander of the fort. Soon after, Milbourne arrived from New York with fifty men, and asked to be admitted into the fort. He was referred to a convention of the people, then sitting, who received him cordially; and he addressed them at length, declaring that their charter was null, being granted by a Papist king; that their present officers had no authority; and that new officers ought to be elected by the people. He exhibited his commission, but was told that, being signed by private individuals, it would not be regarded. He gained many friends among the people, to whom he often appealed; and, when he returned to New York, left his company under the command of an officer elected by themselves.

In the beginning of December, a letter arrived from the ministry in England, directed "to Francis Nicholson, or such as, for the time being, takes care for preserving the peace, and administering the laws, in his majesty's province of New York," and containing the wished-for instructions. The bearer had been long on the way, and, when he arrived, hesitated to whom he ought to deliver the letter. It happened that Colonel Bayard, who had returned privately to the city, heard that such a letter had arrived. He procured an interview with the bearer, and endeavoured to get possession of it, promising to deliver it to Van Cortlandt, who, he alleged, was the only legal mayor; but the bearer, on consideration, declined, and delivered it to Leisler. It was immediately laid before the committee of safety, who advised Leisler to assume the title of lieutenant-governor, which he accordingly did, appointed his council, and proceeded to exercise all the powers of chief magistrate. The attempt of Bayard to gain possession of the letter, betrayed his presence in the city. He was arrested, committed to prison, and put in irons.

Soon after, Leisler wrote to the civil and military officers at Albany, that he had received orders from King William to take care of the province, and had commissioned Joachim Staats, whom Milbourne had left in command of his company, to take possession of "Fort Orange," and keep the soldiers in good order and discipline; but the Albany convention, doubting whether the king had sent any orders to Jacob Leisler refused to acknowledge his authority.

The dethronement of King James brought on a war between England and France; and the usual consequence followed—a war between the Canadian Indians and the English colonies. De Nonville had been recalled, and Count Frontinac appointed

governor of Canada. He was the ablest and most active of all Canadian governors. In January, 1690, he despatched several parties against the English settlements. One of these, consisting of Frenchmen and Caghnuga Indians, was sent against Albany, but resolved to attack Schenectady. To the inhabitants of this village information was given of their danger; but they, judging it impossible for the enemy to march several hundred miles in the depth of winter, disregarded the intelligence. No regular watch was kept, nor military order observed.

The French and Indians arrived near the town on the 8th of February. They divided their number into small parties, that every house might be invested at the same time. On Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, they entered at the gates, which they found unshut. The inhabitants having retired to rest, universal stillness reigned. Suddenly in every quarter the horrid yell was heard. They sprang from their beds, conscious of the danger which surrounded them. Opening their doors they met the savages, with uplifted tomahawks, on the threshold. Each at the same instant, heard the cry of his affrighted neighbour. Soon succeeded the groans of the dying. In a few minutes, the buildings were on fire. Women were butchered, and children thrown alive into the flames. The Indians, frantic from slaughter, ran, with fatal haste, through the village, massacring many, who, in their attempts to escape, were betrayed by the light of their own houses.

Some eluded their pursuers; but a fate almost as dreadful awaited them. They were naked; a furious storm came on; Albany, their only refuge, was at a distance; and often their terror converted into savages the trees and wild beasts which they saw in their flight. Part arrived in safety; twenty-five lost their limbs by the severity of the cold. At Schenectady, sixty were killed, and twenty-five made prisoners.

Had not distractions prevailed in the colony, this distressing calamity would doubtless have been prevented. It was unfortunate that he, who wielded the chief power of the province, had not a clearer title to exercise that power; and it was equally unfortunate that those opposed to him did not cast aside all selfish considerations, and yield him their cordial support. Among his most active opposers at Albany was Robert Livingston. Leisler having issued a warrant to apprehend him, he fled to Connecticut; and, when Milbourne returned to Albany in the spring, he found there no opposition. The property of the prominent individuals belonging to the opposition was confiscated—a measure which was never forgiven by the sufferers nor their posterity.

Leisler, having silenced or driven away his adversaries, now exerted all his faculties to fulfil the duties he had assumed.

He sent agents to Connecticut and Massachusetts, to persuade them to unite with New York in an expedition against Canada. It was at length agreed that Massachusetts should dispatch a fleet against Quebec, and the two other colonies an army against Montreal. The army, under General Winthrop, of Connecticut, proceeded as far as Wood Creek, which empties into Lake Champlain; but finding no boats in readiness, and the Indians expected not appearing, they were obliged to return. The fleet, under Sir William Phipps, appeared before Quebec; but the return of the army to New York allowing the whole force of the province to repair to the assistance of the garrison, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise.

The enemies of Leisler attributed the failure of this expedition to his imbecility. He attributed it to the intrigues and misconduct of his adversaries, particularly of Livingston, and Allyn, the secretary of Connecticut. Upon the return of the army to Albany, he, in a fit of passion, caused Winthrop to be arrested and imprisoned, although he had acted according to the advice of a council of his officers. He was forcibly released by a party of Mohawks, and permitted to return to Connecticut.

Leisler, with reputation diminished and temper soured by ill success, continued to exercise all the powers of lieutenant-governor. King William, harassed by important cares at home, found little time to attend to his distant province of New York. At length, in January, 1691, a Captain Ingoldsby arrived, with a company of troops, and stated verbally to Leisler, that Henry Sloughter had been appointed governor, and was on his way to New York. His enemies, now more bold, if not more numerous, than before, flocked around Ingoldsby, flattered him by their attentions, and influenced his conduct. He demanded the surrender of the fort. Leisler desired to see some commission or order from the ministry or the governor, but Ingoldsby could show none; and not being permitted to enter the fort, he landed his men and besieged it. While thus in durance, Leisler, in several proclamations, avowed his readiness to surrender all authority, whenever he could do so with propriety and safety.

Sloughter arrived on the 18th of March, 1691. The state of the province required an able and honest governor: this was destitute of talents, dissolute, avaricious, and poor. He was immediately surrounded by the enemies of Leisler, appointed his council from among them, and sent Ingoldsby to demand possession of the fort. Of the conduct of Leisler, on this day and the next, no account, deserving of implicit belief, has been given. His enemies declared that he peremptorily and contemptuously refused to surrender the fort. He may have required a written order to do so from the governor, and, being

an uneducated German may have used language to Ingoldsby, the force of which he did not understand. From the records of the council, it appears that he and Milbourne were arrested and committed to prison.

These men were then in the power of their enraged enemies. They were accused of murder and rebellion; a special court was organized to try them; they were convicted, and received sentence of death. But Sloughier hesitated to sign the warrant for their execution. He knew that they had many warm friends among the people; and that, though they had sometimes erred, they had served King William and the Protestant cause with undoubted fidelity, and the most ardent zeal. When about to leave New York for Albany, he asked advice on the subject of his council. They, being mostly their bitter foes, advised him to sign the warrant. Still he hesitated; but their enemies thirsting for vengeance, invited him to a feast; and there, when intoxicated, they presented to him the warrant, which he signed; and when he recovered the prisoners had ceased to live. The behaviour of Leisler on the scaffold is represented as calm and dignified. He declared his innocence of purpose, prayed for his enemies, and recommended his family to the charity of the world. And bitterly did he lament that he had been persuaded to assume duties which he was incompetent to discharge. Subsequently, on application to the king, the estates of Leisler and Milbourne, which had been confiscated, were restored to their heirs; their bodies were taken up and reinterred, with great pomp, in the old Dutch church; and their descendants were considered honoured rather than disgraced by the part they had acted.

In July, 1691, Sloughier, having returned from Albany, ended, by a sudden death, a short, weak, and turbulent administration. About the same time, Major Peter Schuyler, at the head of three hundred Mohawks, made a sudden and bold attack upon the French settlements at the north end of Lake Champlain. An army of about eight hundred men was despatched from Montreal to oppose him. With these he had several irregular, but successful conflicts, in which he killed a number of the enemy greater than that of his whole party.

1692, Colonel Fletcher arrived as successor to Sloughier. He was a good soldier, was active, avaricious, and passionate. From the talents and information of Major Schuyler, he derived great assistance, and was governed by his advice, particularly in transactions relative to the Indians.

As a great portion of the inhabitants were Dutch, all the governors, to produce uniformity in religion and language, had encouraged English preachers and schoolmasters to settle in the colony. No one pursued this object with more zeal than Fletcher, who was devoted to the church of England.

At two successive sessions, he recommended the subject to the attention of the assembly; but the members being generally attached to the Church of Holland, disregarded his recommendations. For this neglect, he gave them a severe reprimand.

The subject being laid before them, at a subsequent session, they passed a bill providing for the settlement, in certain parishes, of ministers of the gospel, to be chosen by the people. The council added an amendment, giving to the governor the power of approval or rejection. The house refused to concur in the amendment, at which Fletcher was so much enraged, that he commanded them instantly to attend him, and, addressing them in an angry speech, prorogued them to the next year. The bill, however, as passed by the assembly, afterwards became a law.

In 1697, a peace, which gave security and repose to the colonies, was concluded between Great Britain and France. The next year, the Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor. He was particularly instructed to clear the American seas of the pirates who infested them, and who, it was suspected, had even received encouragement from Fletcher.

The government declining to furnish the necessary naval force, the earl engaged, with others, in a private undertaking against them. The associates, procuring a vessel of war, gave the command of it to a Captain Kid, and sent him to cruise against the pirates. He had been but a short time at sea, when, disregarding his instructions, he made a new contract with his crew, and, on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, became himself a daring, atrocious, and successful pirate.

Three years afterwards, he returned, burned his ship, and, with strange infatuation, appeared publicly at Boston. He was recognized there by Lord Bellamont, who caused him to be apprehended, and sent to England, where he was tried and executed. The earl and his partners, many of whom were noblemen residing in England, were accused of sharing in his plunder; but in all his examinations he declared them innocent. Afterwards, silver and gold, valued at about fourteen thousand dollars, and a quantity of jewels, were discovered on Gardiner's Island, and delivered to Lord Bellamont.

Notwithstanding the death of Leisler, the people were still divided into Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. Fletcher had been the instrument of the latter; Lord Bellamont espoused the cause of the former. He, however, persecuted no one, but exercised his authority with justice and moderation. He died in 1701.

The next year, Lord Cornbury was appointed governor. He presented a striking proof of the folly of hereditations. He was the grandson of the celebr

Clarendon, but possessed not one of the virtues of his ancestor. Mean, profligate, and unprincipled, he was a burden to his friends at home, and was sent to America to be beyond the reach of his creditors.

He declared himself an anti-Leislerian; and the first assembly that he summoned was composed principally of men of that party. They presented him two thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his voyage. They raised several sums of money for public purposes; but, the expenditure being intrusted to him as governor, he appropriated most of it to his own use.

His acts of injustice and oppression, his prodigality, his indecent and vulgar manners, rendered him universally odious. In 1708, the assemblies of New York and of New Jersey, of which colony he was also governor, complained to the queen of his misconduct. She removed him from office. He was soon after arrested by his creditors, and remained in custody until the death of his father, when he returned to England, and took his seat in the house of lords.

A proceeding of the house of representatives, near the close of his administration, ought not to be passed over without notice. Wearied by their sufferings, they appointed a committee of grievances, who reported a series of resolutions having reference to recent transactions, which resolutions were adopted by the house. One of them, in explicit language, asserted the principle, "that the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property." It is not uninteresting to observe how early, in some of the colonies, were sown the seeds of the American revolution.

In 1710, General Hunter, who had been appointed governor, arrived in the province. He brought with him near three thousand Germans, some of whom settled in New York, and some in Pennsylvania. The latter transmitted to their native land such favourable accounts of the country which they had chosen for their residence, that many others followed, and settled in that colony. The numerous descendants of these Germans are honest, industrious, and useful citizens.

The prodigality of Lord Cornbury had taught the assembly an important lesson. Before his removal, they had obtained from the queen permission, in cases of special appropriations, to appoint their own treasurer. They now passed a bill confiding to this officer the disbursement of certain sums appropriated for ordinary purposes. The council proposed an amendment. The house denied the right of that body to amend a money bill. Both continuing very obstinate, the gov-

error prorogued them, and at their next session dissolved them.

At this time war existed between England and France. In 1709, expensive preparations were made for an attack upon Canada, but the promised assistance not arriving from England, the enterprise was abandoned. 1711, the project was resumed. A fleet sailed up the St. Lawrence, to attack Quebec; and an army of four thousand men, raised by New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, marched to invade Canada, by the route of Lake Champlain. The fleet, shattered by a storm, was compelled to return. The army, informed of the disasters of the fleet, returned also, having accomplished nothing.

The people, approving the conduct of their representatives in relation to the revenue, had re-elected nearly all of them, and they were now in session. To defray the expenses of the late expedition, they passed several bills, which were amended in the council. Between these two bodies another contest ensued. The representatives, deriving their authority from the people, considered themselves bound to watch over the expenditure of their money. The council, deriving their authority from the same source as the governor, were desirous of increasing his influence by giving him the management of the revenue. During this and a subsequent session, both continued inflexible. The governor, provoked at the obstinacy of the representatives, dissolved the assembly.

At the ensuing election, which was warmly contested, most of the members chosen were opposed to the governor. This assembly was dissolved by the death of the queen. The next was dissolved by the governor, soon after it first met, a majority of the representatives being known to be unfriendly to his views. The people became weary of contending. Most of the members chosen at the succeeding election were his friends and partisans, and, for several years, the utmost harmony existed between the different branches of the government.

Governor Hunter quitted the province in 1719, and his authority devolved on Peter Schuyler, the oldest member of the council. The next year, William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop of that name, was appointed governor. Turning his attention towards the wilderness, he perceived that the French, in order to connect their settlements in Canada and Louisiana, to secure to themselves the Indian trade, and to confine the English to the sea-coast, were busily employed in erecting a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi.

He endeavoured to defeat their design, by building a trading-house, and afterwards a fort, at Oswego, on Lake Ontario. But the French had the command of more abundant resources

and applied them to the accomplishment of their object with great activity and zeal. They launched two vessels upon that lake, and, going farther into the wilderness, erected a fort at Niagara, commanding the entrance into it. They had previously erected Fort Frontinac, commanding the outlet.

The assembly elected in 1716, had been so obsequious to the governor, that he continued it in existence until the clamours of the people induced him, in 1727, to dissolve it. That which next met was composed entirely of his opponents. The court of chancery, in which he presided, had become exceedingly unpopular. It had been instituted by an ordinance of the governor and council, without the concurrence of the assembly; the mode of proceeding was novel; and some of the decisions had given great offence to powerful individuals. The house passed resolutions declaring it "a manifest oppression and grievance," and intimating that its decrees were void. The governor instantly called the assembly before him, and dissolved it.

Being soon after appointed governor of Massachusetts, he was succeeded by Colonel Montgomery, upon whose death, in 1731, the supreme authority devolved upon Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council. Under his short and inefficient administration, the French were permitted to erect a fort at Crown Point, within the acknowledged boundaries of New York, from which parties of savages were often secretly despatched to destroy the English settlements.

Van Dam was superseded by William Cosby, who arrived in August, 1732. Having been the advocate in parliament, of the American colonies, he was, at first, popular, but soon lost the affections and confidence of the people. When he came, having then held his commission thirteen months, he brought instructions from the ministry that, during that time, the salary and perquisites of the office should be shared equally by him and Van Dam. He demanded half of the salary which the latter had received; but Van Dam, having ascertained that the governor had received, in perquisites, much more than the salary, demanded a balance of Cosby. Both persisted in their claims. The governor proceeded against his adversary in the court of chancery, where two of the judges were his partisans, and he himself presided. Von Dam employed the most able counsel in the colony, who excepted to the jurisdiction of the court. Chief-Justice Morris gave his opinion in favour of the exception; Delancey and Philipse decided against it. Morris was removed, and, without advice of council, Delancey was appointed chief justice, and Philipse second judge, to hold their commissions during pleasure. Ultimately this court decided in favour of the governor.

While the trial of this cause was going on, the whole popu-

lation took sides with one or the other of the litigant parties. At this time, Bradford, formerly of Philadelphia, published a newspaper in New York, which was the organ of the governor's party; and John Peter Zenger another, which was the organ of Van Dam's or the popular party. The ballads, squibs, and serious charges in the latter irritated the governor and his council to madness. They passed an order directing the city magistrates to cause the paper to be burnt by the common whipper; but the magistrates not only refused to obey this order, but forbade any of their officers to execute it. Chief-Justice Delancey strove to induce the grand jury to indict Zenger, but failed. He was then committed to prison by order of the council, on the charge of publishing seditious libels; and, the grand jury again refusing to indict him, the attorney-general prosecuted him by information. At the first term, the same counsel who had been retained by Van Dam were employed to defend Zenger. They objected to the competency of the court to try him, the judges having been appointed during the pleasure of the governor, and without advice of council. This objection was urged with such boldness, that the judges, after overruling it, dismissed the advocates from the bar.

Zenger pleaded not guilty; and, at the next term, on the day of the trial, Andrew Hamilton, an eloquent lawyer of Philadelphia, who had been secretly engaged, appeared in court to speak in his defence. His friends anticipated that, according to the decision of English judges, all evidence offered to prove the truth of the publications would be rejected; and every citizen had, in various modes of public and private discussion, been made fully acquainted with the circumstances of the case. The evidence was offered and rejected; but the jury—after listening with delight to a bold and animated address from the eloquent advocate, in which he animadverted freely on the decision of the court, appealed to their own knowledge of the truth of the charges, and uttered, in fervid language, those cardinal principles of universal liberty and free discussion, which, though then heresies, are now acknowledged doctrines—gave a verdict of acquittal. Applause resounded through the hall. The court threatened to imprison the leader of the tumult; but from the same lips an applauding shout, longer and louder than before, again burst forth. Mr. Hamilton was conducted from the hall to a splendid entertainment. A salute of cannon was fired at his departure from the city; and the corporation presented him the freedom of the city, in a gold box, "for his learned and generous defence of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

Governor Cosby died in 1736; and, as Van Dam was sup-

posed to be senior councillor, his party exulted in the expectation that he would again preside over the colony; but a document was exhibited, bearing the signature of Cosby, and then first known to exist, dismissing him from the council. George Clark, the next in seniority, took the chair, and was soon after appointed lieutenant-governor. Again was revived the contest which had ended, twenty years before, in the victory gained by Governor Hunter over the house of representatives. The colony being in debt, the house voted to raise the sum of six thousand pounds; but, in order to prevent its misapplication, declared that it should be applied to the payment of certain specified debts. Offended by this vote, Clark resorted to the expedient which had usually been adopted to punish or intimidate; he immediately dissolved the assembly.

At the next election, great exertions were made by the opposing parties. The popular party was triumphant. At their second session, the house voted an address to the lieutenant-governor, which is worthy of particular notice. In bold and explicit language, they state some of the vital principles of free government, refer to recent misapplications of money, and proceed—

"We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honour, and hope you will not take it amiss when we tell you, that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive are fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise, for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and, by the grace of God, we shall endeavour not to deceive them."

With a body of men so resolute in asserting their rights, the lieutenant-governor wisely forbode to contend. He thanked them for their address, and promised his cordial co-operation in all measures calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony. He gave his assent to a law providing for the more frequent election of representatives; which law, however, two years afterwards, was abrogated by the king.

But between a house of representatives and a chief magistrate deriving their authority from different sources, harmony could not long subsist. Mr. Clark, in his speech at the opening of the next session, declared that, unless the revenue was granted for as long a time as it had been granted by former assemblies, his duty to his majesty forbade him from assenting

to any act for continuing the excise, or for paying the colonial bills of credit. The house unanimously resolved, that it would not pass any bill for the grant of money, unless assurance should be given that the excise should be continued and the bills of credit redeemed.

The lieutenant-governor immediately ordered the members to attend him. He told them that "their proceedings were presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented; that he could not look upon them without astonishment, nor with honour suffer the house to sit any longer;" and he accordingly dissolved it. Little more than a year had elapsed since the members were chosen; but in that time they had, by their firm and spirited conduct, in support of the rights of the people, merited the gratitude of their constituents.

About this time, a supposed "negro plot" occasioned great commotion and alarm in the city of New York. The frequent occurrence of fires, most of which were evidently caused by design, first excited the jealousy and suspicions of the citizens. Terrified by danger which lurked unseen in the midst of them, they listened with eager credulity to the declaration of some abandoned females, that the negroes had combined to burn the city and make one of their number governor. Many were arrested and committed to prison. Other witnesses not more respectable than the first, came forward; other negroes were accused, and even several white men were designated as concerned in the plot.

When the time of trial arrived, so strong was the prejudice against the miserable negroes, that every lawyer in the city volunteered against them. Ignorant and unassisted, nearly all who were tried were condemned. Fourteen were sentenced to be burned, eighteen to be hanged, seventy-one to be transported; and all these sentences were executed. Of the whites, two were convicted, and suffered death.

All apprehension of danger having subsided, many began to doubt whether any plot had, in fact, been concerted. None of the witnesses were persons of credit; their stories were extravagant, and often contradictory; and the project was such as none but fools or madmen would form. The two white men were respectable; one had received a liberal education, but he was a Catholic, and the prejudice against Catholics was too violent to permit the free exercise of reason. Some of the accused were doubtless guilty of setting fire to the city; but the proof of the alleged plot was not sufficiently clear to justify the numerous and cruel punishments that were inflicted.

In April, 1740, the assembly met again. It had now risen to importance in the colony. The adherence of the representatives to their determination, not to grant the revenue for more than one year, made annual meetings of the assembly

necessary. This attachment to liberty was mistaken for the desire of independence. Lieutenant-Governor Clark, in a speech delivered in 1741, alludes to "a jealousy which for some years had obtained in England, that the plantations were not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the crown."

In 1743, George Clinton was sent over as governor of the colony. He was an admiral in the navy, the younger son of an earl, had many noble relatives, needed the salary to replenish his purse, and knew little else than how to manage a ship. He was not, however, an unfavourable specimen of the men appointed by the English ministry to be plantation governors. Like most of his predecessors, he was welcomed with joy; and one of his earliest measures confirmed the favourable accounts, which had preceded him, of his talents and liberality. To shew his willingness to repose confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding assemblies. The house manifested its gratitude by adopting the measures he recommended for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England.

In 1745, the savages in alliance with France made frequent invasions of the English territories. The inhabitants were compelled to desert Hoosick; Saratoga was destroyed; the western settlements in New England were often attacked and plundered. Encouraged by success, the enemy became more daring, and small parties ventured within the suburbs of Albany, and there lay in wait for prisoners. It is even said that one Indian, called Tomonwilemon, often entered the city and succeeded in taking captives.

Distressed by these incursions, the assembly, in 1746, determined to unite with the other colonies and the mother country in an expedition against Canada. They appropriated money to purchase provisions for the army, and offered liberal bounties to recruits. Governor Clinton endeavoured to persuade the Mohawks to take up arms against the French; but as he had quarrelled with Delancey, and dismissed Schuyler from being agent of Indian affairs, he found them less tractable than formerly. In the place of Schuyler, he had appointed William Johnson, a nephew of Commodore Warren. He had lately emigrated from England, purchased a tract of land in the midst of the Indians, adopted their dress and manners, and taken several princesses for wives. But success or failure of the efforts made in the colony became unimportant. The fleet from England did not arrive at the appointed time; the other colonies were dilatory in their preparations, and before they were completed, the season for military operations had passed away.

Early in the next year, a treaty was concluded, and the inhabitants were, for a short period, relieved from the burdens and distresses of war. During the interval of peace, no event of importance happened in the colony. Upon the recurrence, a few years afterwards, of hostilities, its territory was the theatre of sanguinary conflicts. But of that war, in which all the colonies acted in concert, a connected history will be hereafter given.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW JERSEY.

HUDSON, in his voyage made in 1609, discovered and entered the Bay of Delaware, and sailed along the coast of New Jersey, before he entered the harbour of New York. The Dutch West India Company, in whose service he sailed, claimed, therefore, the territory of this state, as a part of the New Netherlands. Soon after New York was settled, some Dutch families seated themselves on the west shore of the Hudson, near that city. In 1623, Cornelius Jacobse Mey, whom the company sent out with a small number of people, landed at Cape May, at the mouth of Timber Creek, a few miles below Philadelphia, on the eastern shore of the Delaware, erected a fort, which he called Nassau.

In 1630, Godyn and Bleomart, with the sanction of the company, purchased of the natives a tract of land at Cape May, but made no settlement. In 1634, Sir Edmund Ployden obtained from the king of England a grant of the country on the Delaware, which he called New Albion, and attempted, it is said, to plant a colony there. In 1638, a small number of Swedes and Finns come over, purchased land of the natives on both banks of the Delaware, but made their principal settlements on its western shore. In 1640, New Haven, then a separate colony, purchased land in the same region, for purposes of trade, and "for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity." That they effected a settlement, has been asserted and denied. It is certain that, in 1643, their agent complained to the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England of molestations suffered from the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, and that subsequently, a vessel with adventurers on board, destined to the place purchased, was seized by Governor Kieft, at New York, and compelled to return. It is agreed, that, about this time, a settlement was made, at Elsingburgh, by the English; but whether by New Haven or by Sir Edmund Ployden is uncertain. The Swedes, in concert

with the Dutch, drove them out of the country. The former built a fort at the place whence the English had been driven; and, gaining thus the command of the river, claimed and exercised authority over all vessels that entered it, even those of the Dutch who had lately assisted them.

They and the Dutch continued in possession of the country until 1655, when Peter Stuyvesant, governor of the New Netherlands, having obtained assistance from Holland, conquered all their posts, and transported most of the Swedes to Europe. But the Dutch did not long retain possession. In 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware Rivers, and sent, the same year, a squadron to wrest it from the Dutch. New York was first conquered, and then the settlements of the Delaware immediately submitted. Nichols, who commanded the expedition, and assumed the authority of governor, encouraged farmers from Long Island and New England to emigrate to the country south of the Hudson, by authorizing them to purchase land directly from the natives, and by confirming their title by a patent; and many seated themselves at Elizabeth town, Newark, Middleton, and Shrewsbury. But in the same year, and before the date of Nichol's patent, the duke conveyed the territory between the Hudson and the Delaware to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. To this tract the name of New Jersey was given, in compliment to Sir George, who had been governor of the island of Jersey, and had held it for King Charles in his contest with the parliament.

The two proprietors formed a constitution for the colony, securing equal privileges and liberty of conscience to all, and appointed Philip Carteret governor. He came over in 1665, fixed the seat of government at Elizabethtown, purchased land of the Indians, and sent agents into England to invite settlers from that quarter. The terms offered were so favourable that many accepted the invitation. One of the inducements held out, was a bounty of seventy-five acres of land for every able-bodied slave introduced. But the emigrants were of a class accustomed and willing to labour; many of them came from a country where man-stealing was punishable by law; and but few took measures to entitle themselves to the bounty.

A few years afterwards, the repose of the colony was disturbed by domestic disputes. Those of the inhabitants who had purchased lands of the Indians, and received a confirmation of their title from Nichols, before the conveyance from the duke was known, refused to pay rent to the proprietors. Others were discontented from different causes. In 1672, the people assumed the government, and chose James Carteret,

the son of Philip, their governor. The father returned to England, and obtained from the proprietors such concessions and promises as quieted the people, and induced them again to submit to his authority.

Lord Berkeley, in 1675, disposed of his property, rights, and privileges, to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge, both Quakers; and the former immediately sailed, with his family and a large company, to the Delaware, established himself at a place near Elsingburgh, and called it Salem. Billinge, being involved in debt, consented that this property and rights should be sold for the benefit of his creditors; and William Penn, Gawen Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, were appointed trustees for that purpose. Being all Quakers, they resolved to secure, in New Jersey, an asylum for their persecuted brethren; and being desirous of possessing the sole power to institute a government, they and Sir George Carteret agreed to make partition of the territory. The western portion was assigned to them, the eastern to Carteret.

West Jersey was then divided into one hundred shares, which were separately sold. Some of the purchasers emigrated to the country, and all made great exertions to promote its population. Possessing the powers of government, as well as the right of soil, they formed a constitution, in which for the encouragement of emigrants, they secured to them ample privileges. In 1677, a large number, principally Quakers, came from England, and seated themselves at Burlington, and its neighbourhood.

But previous to the transfer from Berkeley, to Billinge, the Dutch, being at war with England, reconquered the country, and retained it until 1674, when it was restored by treaty. A new patent was then granted to the duke, including the same territory as the former. In 1671, Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed his sole governor in America, claimed jurisdiction over the Jerseys, insisting that the conquest by the Dutch divested the proprietors of all their rights; that the reconquest again vested the title in the crown; and that the duke again acquired it entire by his second patent. He forcibly seized, transported to New York, and there imprisoned, those magistrates who refused to acknowledge his authority, and he imposed a duty upon all goods imported, and upon all who came to settle in the country.

Of this injustice the inhabitants, especially those of West Jersey, loudly complained to the duke; and at length their repeated remonstrances constrained him to refer the matter to commissioners. Before them agents of the proprietors appeared. In strong language they asserted, and by strong arguments supported, their claim to the privileges of freemen. They represented that the king had granted to the duke the right of

government as well as the right of soil, that the duke had transferred the same rights to Berkeley and Carteret, and they to the present proprietors.

"That only," they added, "could have induced us to purchase lands and emigrate. And the reason is plain: to all prudent men, the government of any place is more inviting than the soil; for what is good land without good laws? What but an assurance that we should enjoy civil and religious privileges, could have tempted us to leave a cultivated country, and resort to a gloomy wilderness? What have we gained, if, after adventuring in this wilderness many thousands of pounds, we are yet to be taxed at the mere will and pleasure of another? What is it but to say, that people, free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in his plantations abroad?

"We humbly say, that we have lost none of our liberty by leaving our country; that the duty imposed upon us is without precedent or parallel; that, had we foreseen it, we should have preferred any other plantation in America. Besides, there is no limit to this power: since we are, by this precedent, taxed without any law, and thereby excluded from our English right of assenting to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for our personal estates. Such conduct has destroyed governments but never raised one to any true greatness."

The commissioners adjudged the duties illegal, and they were not afterwards demanded. Emigrants continued to arrive, and the country to prosper. In 1681, the governor of West Jersey summoned a general assembly, by which several fundamental laws were enacted, establishing the rights of the people, and defining the powers of rulers.

In 1682, the territory of East Jersey passed from Carteret to William Penn and and twenty-three associates, mostly of the Quaker persuasion. Robert Barclay, author of the "Apology for the Quakers," was appointed governor, and active measures were adopted to fill it with inhabitants. At this time, the Presbyterians of Scotland, were persecuted by the Stuarts, with infuriated bigotry. Certainly the annals of our fatherland contain no other pages from which the reader turns with such instinctive horror as from those which recount the remorseless cruelties of Claverhouse, Kirk, and Jeffries, of which ministers and people, men, women, and young maidens, were the heroic victims. To them an asylum was offered in East Jersey; and many, pure in heart and strong in faith,—for they had been tried by severer tests than even the Pilgrims of New England,—came over, and blessed the country with their piety, their industry, and their virtues. They found a

more fertile soil, a more genial climate, and, what to them was dearer, the safe enjoyment of their faith. Dispersed among Puritans and Quakers, they could but feel contented; and with such a population the colony saw that it had an assurance of prosperity.

But the cup of happiness is never full. The multitude of proprietors, and the frequent transfers and subdivisions of shares, occasioned vexatious confusion in titles to land, and harassing uncertainty as to the rights of government; and for twenty years all the evils which naturally flow from such bitter sources, continued to afflict the people. In 1702, the proprietors, weary of contending with each other, and with the people, surrendered the right of government to the crown. Queen Anne reunited the two divisions, and appointed Lord Cornbury governor over the colonies of New Jersey and New York.

For several years, these provinces continued to be ruled by the same governor, but each chose a separate assembly. In 1708, the inhabitants, by petition to the king, requested that they might have a separate governor. Their request was granted, and soon after Lewis Morris was appointed. In the same year, a college was founded at Princeton, and called Nassau Hall. New Jersey then contained about forty thousand inhabitants. Being remote from Canada, the source of most of the Indian wars which afflicted the northern colonies, it enjoyed a complete exemption from that terrible calamity, and, until the commencement of the revolution, furnished no materials for history.

CHAPTER IX.

PENNSYLVANIA.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was the son of Sir William Penn, an admiral in the British navy. Having, while a student at Oxford, violated the rules of the college, by attending the meetings of Quakers, he was at first fined, and afterwards expelled. His father chastised him, and banished him from his home; but, relenting, sent him to the continent to complete his education. He remained a short time at the college of Saumur, and, upon the appointment of his father to the command of a squadron, was recalled home to superintend the estates of the family. For a while, he studied law at Lincoln's Inn; mingled with London society, and acquired such skill in fencing, as to be able with ease to disarm any antagonist.

In 1666, being then in his twenty-second year, and on a journey in Ireland, he listened to the preaching of an eloquent Quaker, and imbibed all his enthusiasm. He joined the sect; was imprisoned as a nonconformist; returned to England, and was again turned out of doors by his father. He repaired to court with his hat on his head, claimed indulgence for the Friends, and was consigned to close imprisonment in the Tower. The Duke of York, his father's friend, obtained his release; and the next year he was arraigned for having spoken at a Quaker meeting. When put on trial, he addressed the jury and the court with so much eloquence and boldness, that the former, after a confinement of two days and two nights, disregarding the law, brought in a verdict of acquittal; and the latter fined the jury for returning a verdict against law, and fined and imprisoned Penn for contempt of court. He was discharged; again offended; and was again imprisoned. From Newgate he addressed the people in favour of liberty of conscience; and, when discharged, increased his exertions to propagate his doctrines, and to obtain for his brethren the protection of the laws. He travelled in Holland and Germany to distribute tracts and make converts; and on his return appeared before the house of commons to plead for universal liberty of conscience.

Being constituted a trustee of Billinge, one of the part owners of New Jersey, his attention was drawn to America; and he conceived the project of trying, on its shores, the "holy experiment" of commingling all Christian sects in one political community, all equally unrestrained and unprivileged by the laws. He applied to the king for the grant of a tract, which he had ascertained was not included in any previous patent. The nation was indebted to his father for his services; and he, on his death-bed, had asked and received from the Duke of York, the brother of the king, a promise to protect and befriend his son. The want of personal favour at court being thus supplied, he obtained, in 1681, the grant he solicited; and the king insisted on calling the province Pennsylvania.

The charter contained some provisions not found in those previously granted. The king reserved the power, should not the laws of trade and navigation be observed, to seize the government, and retain it until compensation should be made; and to the *parliament* was reserved the power of imposing taxes on the people. Experience had shown the government that such powers were essential to accomplish the objects they aimed at. Unlimited freedom of conscience to all Christian sects, and the right to be governed by laws enacted by themselves, were secured to the people.

Desirous of selling his lands and founding a colony, he, in a

public advertisement, described the country, and set forth the advantages which it offered to emigrants. Many persons, chiefly Quakers, but natives of England, Wales, Ireland, and Germany, were induced to purchase. His first terms, which were afterwards raised, were forty shillings for every hundred acres, subject to a quitrent of one penny per acre for ever. Before the emigrants embarked, certain "conditions and concessions" were by them and the proprietor agreed on and subscribed.

In the fall, three ships, carrying settlers, sailed for Pennsylvania. The pious and philanthropic proprietor sent by William Markham, his relation, a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the great God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and that the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace: and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." In compliance with his instructions, Markham purchased of the Indians as much land as the circumstances of the colony required. The position selected for a settlement was above the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill. The Welsh seated themselves on the present sites of Merriion, Haverford, and Radnor; the Germans laid the foundation of Germantown.

In April, 1682, Penn published a *Frame of Government*, the chief object of which was declared to be "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." He published also a *Body of Laws*, which had been examined and approved by the emigrants in England; and which, says an eminent historian, "does great honour to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, and to their spirit as colonists." From the duke of York, he obtained the relinquishment of a tract of land lying on the south side of the Delaware, and now constituting the state of that name, a part of which was already settled, and, in August, accompanied by about one hundred emigrants, set sail for America.

He landed first at New Castle, which was a part of the "Territories," as the land conveyed to him by the duke was called. Upon this tract he found about three thousand Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. He proceeded to Chester, where he called an assembly on the fourth of December. This assembly annexed the Territories to the province, adopted the Frame of Government, and enacted in form the Body of Laws. Penn also held a conference with the Indians, at which speeches were delivered, and the purchase made by Markham

was confirmed. This conference was held at Kensington, under a large elm, which was afterwards regarded with veneration. The Indians, according to their custom, gave him a name, which was Onas, and by that name the governors of Pennsylvania were afterwards called; but he was always, in all conferences with his successors, referred to by them as the great and good Onas. He then selected the site, and marked out the plan, of an extensive city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, or the city of love. Before the end of the year, it contained eighty houses and cottages, some of which were brought from England.

The settlement of none of the colonies commenced under such favourable auspices as that of Pennsylvania. The experience of half a century had disclosed the evils to be avoided, and pointed out the course to be pursued. The Indians, having been already taught to fear the power of the whites, were the more easily conciliated by their kindness. The soil being fertile, the climate temperate, and the game abundant, the first emigrants escaped most of the calamities which afflicted the more northern and southern provinces. The increase of population exceeded, of course, all former example. Crowds flocked to it from all quarters, and particularly from Germany and Holland.

The first frame of government or charter established a council of seventy-two members, one third to be chosen annually, and an assembly, to consist, at first of all the freemen, afterwards of two hundred, and never to exceed five hundred members. The proprietor was to be perpetual president of the council, and to have therein a treble vote. The council had the sole power of originating bills; and these were to be published before the meeting of the assembly, that the representatives might come together prepared to express thereupon the sentiments of their constituents. The people began to think that such a numerous assembly would be a burden to the province; the proprietor, fearing that his patent might be jeopardized by legislative doings, was desirous of possessing more power to controul them. In 1683, a new charter was adopted, by which, and by a vote of the assembly, the number of the council was reduced to eighteen, and of the assembly to thirty-six members; and to the proprietor was given a controlling vote in the council, so that no law could be proposed without his assent.

Some of the regulations proposed by Penn, and adopted, bear the impress of his singular genius and benevolent disposition. It was ordained "that, to prevent law-suits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man; that children should be taught some

useful trade, to the end that none might be idle, that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they should become poor, might not want; that factors, wronging their employers, should make satisfaction and one-third over; that every thing which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty and irreligion, should be discouraged and severely punished; that no one, acknowledging one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatever; that all estates might be devised by will, and, if no will was made, they should descend equally to all the children.

These judicious regulations attracted numerous emigrants; and to their salutary influence must be attributed the qualities of diligence, order, and economy, for which the Pennsylvanians are so justly celebrated. Within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia two thousand inhabitants.

In 1684, the proprietor returned to England. He left the province in profound tranquillity, committing the executive authority to the council,—of which Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker from Wales, was made president,—and afterwards to five selected members of the council. The unfortunate James the Second soon after ascended the throne. "As he has," said Penn, "been my friend, and my father's friend, I feel bound in justice to be a friend to him." He adhered to him while seated on the throne; and for two years after he was expelled from his kingdom, the government of the province was administered in his name.

By this display of attachment to the exiled monarch, he incurred the displeasure of King William. On vague suspicion, and unfounded charges, he was four times imprisoned. The government of his colony was taken from him, and given to Colonel Fletcher, the governor of New York. But, by the severest scrutiny, it was rendered apparent, that he had, in all his conduct, been actuated as much by the love of his country as by personal gratitude. He regained the good opinion of King William; and, being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, appointed William Markham to be his deputy-governor.

In 1699, he again visited Pennsylvania, and found the people discontented. They complained that his powers and their rights were not defined with sufficient precision, and demanded a new charter. In 1701, he prepared and presented one to the assembly, which was accepted. It gave the whole power of legislation to the governor and assembly, the governor being authorized to propose bills and to reject those passed by the assembly. It made no provision for the election, by the people, of members of the council, and scarcely recogniz-

that body as a part of the government. To the assembly it gave the power to originate bills; to amend or reject those which might be laid before them; to adjourn at pleasure, and to meet at such times as it might appoint; and generally to do whatever might be done by the assemblies of other colonies in America. It authorized the people in each county to choose two persons for sheriff, and the justices to choose three persons for clerk of the peace, out of which the governor was to appoint one; and it made various other provisions, the intent of which was to secure the people from the abuse of power.

The inhabitants of the Territories had complained that, sending but few representatives to the assembly, their peculiar interests had been neglected. A supplemental article was therefore added, giving them the privilege of dissolving the union at any time within three years. They decided in favour of a dissolution, and were allowed a distinct assembly, but the same governor presided over both.

Immediately after this third charter was accepted, Penn appointed Andrew Hamilton deputy-governor, and a council consisting of ten members, and returned to England, being much better pleased with a residence in London than in Pennsylvania. From this time the history of the colony ceases to be interesting. No glorious, nor disastrous, nor striking event occurred. With an account of petty quarrels between the proprietor and the people—the landlord and his tenants—a volume might be filled; but it would only serve to prove the oft-asserted truths, that the long possession of power renders the best men less worthy to possess it; that a people, situated as these colonists were, are more disposed to make encroachments upon power than to submit to encroachments from it; and that, if men may be restrained by principle from committing great wickedness, it is impossible to eradicate from the human heart the passion of envy and the love of gain. But if it cannot be said that either the proprietor or the people were perfect, it may with truth be said that in few colonies were the actions of the people subject to so little restraint, and in none was there so great prosperity.

The almost continual absence of the proprietor from his province, basking in the smiles of James and Anne, with both of whom he was a favourite, sundered the ties which once bound him to his people. Many had never seen him; and a great many, not being Quakers, were connected with him by no religious sympathy. They knew him only as the receiver of rents, and felt less grateful for the favours he bestowed, than dissatisfied at those he withheld. They believed him to be rich, and the quit-rents which they owed him, though trifling and just, were grudgingly paid. He was, in fact, suf-

fering from poverty. He had expended upon his province more than he had received; he had expended much at court, and more in his exertions to sustain and protect his persecuted brethren; and he was compelled to require of his tenants all that he could legally claim. In 1708, he was imprisoned for debt, and could obtain his discharge only by mortgaging Pennsylvania. In 1712, he entered into a negotiation with the crown for transferring to it the government of his province, and finally agreed to accept for it twelve thousand pounds; but before the legal forms were completed, he was reduced, by an apoplectic stroke, to the imbecility of infancy. In this state he lingered until 1718, when he died. His widow, as executrix of his will, assumed the management of the province, and retained it until 1732, when it passed into the hands of his sons, John, Thomas, and Richard Penn. At this time, an anonymous author estimates the population at thirty thousand, but it was probably greater.

Under deputy-governors appointed by these young men, the colony continued to prosper, and the people to murmur; but their discontents never rose to the dignity of rebellion. They had more causes of dissatisfaction than before: but these causes were trifling, for they knew not what oppression was. The wars carried on by the neighbouring colonies against the French and Indians, and the measures of protection adopted against apprehended incursions of the Indians into her own borders, increased the expenses of the colony; the proprietors refused to pay any part of those expenses; and their deputy refused, as instructed by them, to assent to any act levying taxes which did not exempt their own lands from its operation. This unwise, and indeed unjust, claim of exemption, occasioned greater disgust than injury, and embittered all the enjoyments of the inhabitants.

Most of the colonies, and this among them, had, to defray their expenses, or to furnish a currency, made frequent emissions of paper money. The English parliament enacted a law prohibiting further issues; but Pennsylvania was not included in the prohibition. In 1752, the assembly passed a bill authorising the emission of forty thousand dollars; but the governor withheld his assent, from the fear, as he alleged, of offending the parliament, which had so lately disapproved of this species of currency. His objections were referred to a committee, of which Benjamin Franklin was chairman. In their report, the committee took a comprehensive view of the effect of a paper currency. They demonstrated that, by its aid, the commerce, population, and internal improvements of the province had greatly increased. They stated that, in 1723, when the first emission was made, the number of vessels cleared from Pennsylvania was but eighty-five; in 1751, it was four ed

and three:—that the imports from England, in 1723, amounted to but sixteen thousand pounds; in 1751, they amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine thousand:—that the exports had trebled, being, in 1751, one hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds:—that the price of labour had been raised, agricultural improvements had been rapidly made, and, in twenty years, the population had doubled.

The governor persisted in withholding his assent; and a number of bills, of the same purport, subsequently passed by the assembly, were also negatived. Franklin continued to be the champion of paper money; and it is remarkable that, during this period of our history, that species of currency was often demanded by the poor, and opposed by the rich. In a new country, deficient in capital, and with resources which may be rapidly developed, paper may be well employed as a substitute for specie; but the enormous issues made during the revolutionary war demonstrated very clearly that the unlimited power to issue is liable to great abuse.

It will be seen hereafter that the people of Pennsylvania took an active part in the revolutionary contest. In the early part of the war, they adopted a new constitution, by which the proprietor was excluded from all share in the government. He was offered, and finally accepted, five hundred and seventy thousand dollars in discharge of all quit-rents due from the inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

DELAWARE.

It has already been stated that Hudson, sailing in the service of the Dutch West India Company, discovered the River Delaware. In 1629, one Godyn, a director of that company, purchased of the natives a tract of land near the mouth of that river, on its western bank. The next year, he, in connection with others, sent De Vries, with about thirty persons, to make a settlement, and they seated themselves near Lewistown. In 1632, De Vries returned to Holland, and, soon after his departure, a quarrel arose between the emigrants and the natives, in which every emigrant was killed.

Gustavus Adolphus, the best and greatest of Swedish kings, partaking of the spirit which actuated his brother sovereigns, resolved to plant a colony in America, for the benefit "of all oppressed Christendom." A commercial company, to whom was granted the right to plant colonies, was incorporated; the king invested four hundred thousand dollars, and reserved

to the crown the right of government. Colonists were invited from all Europe, and the introduction of slaves, if not forbidden, was discouraged. "Slaves," it was said, "cost a great deal, labour with reluctance, and soon perish from hard usage; surely we shall gain more by a free people, with wives and children."

After the death of Gustavus, at the battle of Lutzen, Oxenstiern, the celebrated Swedish minister, then administering the government for the young queen, Christina, in a special appeal to Germany in favour of the enterprise, announced himself to be but the executor of the wishes of his late sovereign, and declared that the accomplishment of the design "would be favourable to all Christendom, to Europe, to the whole world." Minuits, who had been the Dutch governor of Manhattan, was selected to join the first expedition. In 1638, with a small number of Swedes and Finns, he arrived in Delaware Bay. They landed, early in the season, at Cape Henlopen; and so delighted were those emigrants from the cold regions of the north with the country and the climate, that they named it Paradise Point. They purchased of the natives the soil from the Cape to the falls near Trenton, and erected a fort at the mouth of the Christiana Creek, not far from Wilmington. The country they called New Sweden, and the river New Swedeland Stream.

Kieft, the governor of the New Netherlands, protested against this encroachment upon the territory of his sovereigns, the Dutch West India Company, but dared not then molest them. Such were the tidings born back to the north, that many of the peasants of Sweden and Finland eagerly hastened to this beautiful garden of the New World. The Dutch, who had deserted, re-occupied their fort at Nassau, in New Jersey; and Printz, the Swedish governor, erected one, of huge hemlock logs, on the island of Tinicum, a few miles below Philadelphia, where he established his head-quarters. A few Englishmen seated themselves below, on both sides of the river; but they were not made welcome by the Swedes or the Dutch, and were soon driven away.

The Swedish colony increased in numbers. The Dutch still claiming the country, built Fort Casimir, at Newcastle, five miles from Christiana. Printz, in his turn protested; and Risingh, his successor, in 1654, going with thirty men on pretence of making a friendly visit to the commander, took possession of it while enjoying his hospitality. This dishonourable action did not remain long unavenged. Stuyvesant the governor of the New Netherlands, returned, the next year, the visit of Risingh. He came with no friendly pretence, with an armament furnished in part by the city of

dam, which had purchased the territory on the Delaware. He first reduced the fort at Newcastle, then that at Christiana Creek, and subsequently the others. Some of the Swedes were sent to Europe; the rest on taking the oath of allegiance to Holland, were permitted to remain. Many of their descendants yet continue in Delaware, living memorials of the transient connection with the territory of the United States of the virtuous Oxenstiern and the brave Gustavus.

The settlement on the Delaware continued under the control of the Dutch until the New Netherlands were conquered by the English, in 1644. The duke of York then came into possession of all the Dutch had occupied. The English laws were established on both sides of the river; Newcastle was incorporated; and merchants were relieved from the duty of entering their goods at New York, as before they were obliged to do. Afterwards Dutch privateers, ascending the Delaware, committed depredations on the inhabitants; and they were authorized, to collect, as a recompense, a duty on imports at the Hoarkills.

Lord Baltimore had always claimed the country on the west side of the river as a part of his grant, which extended to the fortieth degree of north latitude, but excepted tracts already occupied. Incursions had been made from Maryland with the view of driving away the settlers; and once possession was taken, and for some time kept, of the post at the Hoarkills. At length William Penn, having obtained a grant of Pennsylvania, and being desirous of owning the land on the west bank of the Delaware, from his province to the sea, procured from the duke a release of all his title and claim, in one deed, to Newcastle and the land twelve miles round it, and, in another, to the land between this tract and the sea. In October, 1682, he arrived at Newcastle, and in the presence of a crowd of Dutch, Swedes, and English, produced and read his deeds. The agent of the duke surrendered to him the territory; he addressed the multitude, promising them liberty of conscience and civil freedom; and then ascended the Delaware to take possession of his province of Pennsylvania.

Lord Baltimore still asserted his claim; but Penn resisted it on the ground that, at the time of the grant of Maryland, the territory was occupied. In 1685, the lords of trade and plantations decided that the claim of Baltimore was unfounded; and though the duke of York had no title but that derived from occupancy, his grant extending only to the east bank of the bay, yet no one else appeared to dispute the title of Penn; and the boundary between him and Baltimore was afterwards adjusted by compromise.

The two tracts now constituting the state of Delaware,

Penn called his Territories. They were divided into three counties, and for twenty years were governed as a part of Pennsylvania, each sending six delegates to the general assembly. In 1703, these delegates, not being willing to act with an assembly which neglected their own peculiar interests, obtained liberty to secede; and the Territories were ever afterwards allowed a distinct assembly. The proprietor, however, until the commencement of the revolution, retained all his rights, and the same governor uniformly presided over his province and the Territories.

Sheltered by the surrounding colonies, Delaware enjoyed an entire exemption from wars, except those in which, as a part of the British empire, she was obliged to participate. In the war with France, which terminated in 1763, she was second to none in active zeal to assist the parent state. In the revolutionary war, the Delaware regiment was considered the most efficient in the Continental army.

CHAPTER XI.

MARYLAND.

GEORGE CALVERT, one of the secretaries of state under James I., had, from early life, shared in the general enthusiasm in favour of plantations in America. He was a Protestant in his youth; but, being convinced that the Catholic was the truth faith, he avowed his conviction and resigned his office. The king, however, confiding in his integrity, retained him as a member of his privy council, and afterwards placed him in the list of Irish peers, with the title of Lord Baltimore. While secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent of the southern promontory of Newfoundland, and made repeated, but unsuccessful, efforts to plant a colony there. Having been a member of the South Virginia Company, he then visited that part of the continent, in the hope of finding a retreat for his persecuted brethren. Upon his arrival, the assembly directed that the usual oath of allegiance, and another oath prescribed by an English statute acknowledging the king to be the only supreme governor, in all his dominions, as well in temporal as ecclesiastical matters, should be tendered to him. As the Catholics then believed the pope to be the supreme and only head of their church, Lord Baltimore refused to take these oaths.

Not being received in Virginia with the welcome he expected, he returned to England, and solicited from Charles I. a grant to himself of the territory then uninhabited, on both

sides of Chesapeake Bay. Charles assented; a patent was prepared, according to the suggestions of Lord Baltimore; but he died before the king's signature was affixed. It was afterwards, in 1632, issued to Cecil, his eldest son, and heir of his estate and title.

For the liberal provisions of this charter, King Charles, as well as Lord Baltimore, deserves special commendation. It granted and secured to all Christian sects equal protection and equal privileges. In England, the Catholics were then odious, and the objects of bitter persecution; by this charter, the sovereign set apart a fertile and delightful territory to which they might retire and worship God according to the dictates of conscience. By placing, not tacitly but expressly, all sects upon a level, it displayed an advance in liberality, for which he who gave and he who solicited and accepted it are entitled to the highest credit, and to the higher credit from its being the first charter which contained similar provisions. It secured, moreover, to the people the right to enact their own laws, by themselves or their representatives, subject only to the negative of the proprietor; and it conceded to the inhabitants the inestimable favour of perpetual exemption from all English taxes. To the colony the name of Maryland was given, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the Catholic wife of Charles.

The territory being within the limits of Virginia, as described in her charter, several inhabitants of that colony, who probably carried on trade with the Indians of the Chesapeake, remonstrated against the grant to Lord Baltimore. But the Virginia charter had been forfeited, and the king refused to rescind his grant. The proprietor appointed Leonard Calvert, his brother, governor, and despatched him, near the close of the year 1633, to America, accompanied by about two hundred emigrants, mostly Roman Catholics.

They arrived, in February, 1634, at the mouth of the River Potomac. At a conference with the Indians who dwelt on the shore, they purchased Yoamaco, a considerable village, the site of which St. Mary's now occupies. By this measure, wise as well as just, the rightful proprietors of the soil were satisfied, convenient habitations and some cultivated land were obtained. Arriving at a favourable season, instead of searching for gold, they planted corn, and raised enough for their own consumption, and some to exchange for the fish of New England.

But Maryland, in William Clayborne, had its evil genius, as well as New England in Edward Randolph. He was a member of the council, and secretary of the colony of Virginia; and in 1631 obtained a license from the king to trade with the Indians in places where the exclusive right to trade

with them had not been granted. Under this license, he had made a small settlement on the Island of Kent, and another near the mouth of the Susquehannah. He pretended to regard the grant to Lord Baltimore as an infringement of his rights; he had good reason to apprehend from it a diminution of his profits. Upon the first arrival of the emigrants, he attempted to alarm them by representing the natives as decidedly hostile. To the natives he represented the "new comers" as Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians; and these representations had the effect of rendering them suspicious and unfriendly.

Not content with this mode of annoying the emigrants, he directed Warren, one of his men, to seize any vessel he might meet with belonging to Lord Baltimore's party. In the spring of 1635, Warren attempted to seize two pinnaces, was resisted, himself and two men slain, and his own party killed one of the emigrants. For this murder, Clayborne, though not present, was indicted; and fleeing to Virginia, was demanded of the governor of that colony, who refused to deliver him up, but sent him to England that the case might be determined there.

Shortly after this event, the people assembled to exercise the legislative power conferred by the charter. Every freeman was probably present by himself or by proxy. No record of their doings has been preserved. It is known that they passed an act confiscating the property of Clayborne; and subsequent documents show that they passed some acts which the proprietor negatived. Clayborne applied to the king for redress, but, after a full hearing, was dismissed without obtaining any order in his favour.

With the exception of the enmity of Clayborne, and the unfriendliness of the Indians produced by his intrigues, every thing conspired to render the colony prosperous. The emigrants wisely sought their support from agriculture rather than from mines and trade. The proprietor was generous with his means, and indefatigable in his efforts to insure success; he offered the most favourable terms to emigrants; the soil and climate were inviting; from abroad Catholics came as to a secure asylum; from the south Churchmen drove Puritans, from the north Puritans drove Churchmen, into her borders, where all were willingly received, protected, and cherished.

At first, all the freemen, attending in a body, by themselves or by proxy, passed such laws as the welfare of the colony required. The increase of population soon rendered it necessary to adopt a different mode of legislation. In 1639, an act was passed, constituting a "house of assembly," to be composed of such as should be chosen by the people, of such

should be summoned or appointed by the proprietor, and of the governor and secretary. These were to sit together, and the laws which they should enact were to possess the same validity as though the proprietors and all the people had concurred in enacting them. In 1650, a second alteration was made. The legislative body was divided into two branches, the delegates chosen by the people constituting the lower house, and the persons summoned by the proprietors, the upper house.

When the civil war between the king and parliament began, Clayborne embraced the cause of the latter, returned to Maryland, and by his intrigues fomented, in 1645, a rebellion against its rulers, who were attached to the royal cause. Calvert, the governor, was compelled to fly to Virginia, and the insurgents assumed the powers of government. The next year, however, the revolt was suppressed and tranquillity restored.

Watching the progress of the contest in England, the proprietor, desirous probably of strengthening himself with the rising party by following examples of Puritan rigour, and fearful, perhaps, that the Catholics might lose their privileges, approved a law, which the assembly had passed, declaring that any one, who should blaspheme God or deny the Holy Trinity, should suffer death; and declaring also that no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be in any way molested for his religion, or in the free exercise thereof.

But when the parliament triumphed over the king, they appointed commissioners for "reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeake;" and among them was Clayborne. After much altercation with Stone, the lieutenant of Baltimore, they deprived him of his commission; but afterwards a compromise was effected, by which he, with three of his council, was allowed to exercise the executive power until instructions should arrive from England; and the commissioners repaired to Virginia. This state of affairs continued two years, when Stone, upon the dissolution of the long parliament, which had appointed the commissioners, believing their authority extinguished, restored his old council, and, by a railing and foolish proclamation, declared that the colony, while governed as it had been, was in a state of rebellion. This irritated the Puritans, and recalled the commissioners from Virginia. They removed Stone, substituting ten persons, whom they authorised to administer the government. Party spirit was rife in the colony, the people dividing according to their religious sentiments.

The next assembly was composed principally of Puritans. They acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, and passed an act which in effect denied religious freedom to all believers in "Popery and Prelacy." Thus were the Catholics ungratefully

disfranchised in a colony they had founded, and by men whom they had taken to their bosom. A portion of the people refused to obey the new government; Stone attempted to restore the authority of Lord Baltimore, but was taken prisoner and kept long in confinement. Distraction and disorder continued to prevail until the restoration, in 1660, when Lord Baltimore resumed all his rights, and appointed Philip Calvert governor.

At this time the colony contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. Under the mild and beneficent rule of the proprietor, the number rapidly increased. "Acts of compromise" favourable to the colonists were passed, by which the power of the proprietor to levy taxes was defined and restrained; the assembly granted a custom of two shillings a hogshead on all tobacco exported, of which one half was to be appropriated to the defence of the colony, and the other half to be retained by the proprietor.

In 1676, Cecil Lord Baltimore, the original proprietor, died. He had well earned the title of the father of the province. For more than forty years, he had directed its affairs as proprietor, and displayed, in all his conduct, a benevolent heart and enlightened understanding. Although he lived in an age of bigotry, he was liberal in his opinions; and for all his exertions to contribute to the happiness of his fellow-beings, he desired no reward but their gratitude. This reward he received. The records of the Maryland assembly contain frequent memorials of the respect and affection of the people. He was succeeded, as proprietor, by his eldest son, Charles, who had, for several years, been governor of the colony, and displayed the same amiable qualities which had rendered his father respected and beloved.

But the relation of proprietor and people was not one which the inhabitants of the New World were disposed long to endure with complacency. Their pride, and the spirit of independence natural to men who had been bred in forests and among mountains, revolted at their dependent condition, and stifled all the promptings of justice and duty. Protestants were numerous in the colony; in the kingdom they had a decided preponderancy; and, wherever they were, they regarded Catholics with hatred and distrust. English prelates demanded that the Episcopal church should be established; and the ministry, yielding to the clamour which beset them on all sides, and not unwilling to derive advantage from the proprietor's weakness, issued, in 1681, an order that all offices in Maryland should be entrusted exclusively to Protestants. Catholics, a second time, disfranchised and founded.

But let us not judge to

lived in times so different from our own. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the persecution of Protestants in France and Holland, had not yet faded from the recollections of men. It was well understood that Catholics viewed Protestants as guilty apostates from the true faith; and that they did not consider that they owed any allegiance, from which the pope could not release them, to Protestant sovereigns. The refusal of the first Lord Baltimore to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in Virginia, was probably still remembered. Let us be grateful that Catholics, as well as Protestants, have rejected many of the errors, and forgotten the feelings, of a benighted age.

In the year 1689, the epoch of the revolution in England, the repose of Maryland was again disturbed. A rumour was artfully circulated, that the Catholics had leagued with the Indians to destroy all the Protestants in the province. An armed association was immediately formed, for the defence of the Protestant religion, and for asserting the rights of King William and Queen Mary. The magistrates attempted to oppose by force this association; but, meeting with few supporters, were compelled to abdicate the government.

King William directed those who he had assumed the supreme authority to exercise it in his name; and for twenty-seven years the crown retained the entire control of the province. In 1716, the proprietor was restored to his rights; and he and his descendants continued to enjoy them until the commencement of the revolution. The people then assumed the government, adopted a constitution, and refused to admit the claims of Lord Baltimore to jurisdiction or property.

CHAPTER XII.

NORTH CAROLINA.

IN 1630, Charles I. granted to Sir Robert Heath all the territory between the 30th and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea, by the name of Carolina. Under this grant no settlement was made. Between 1640 and 1650, persons suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia fled beyond her limits, and, without license from any source, occupied that portion of North Carolina north of Albemarle Sound. They found the winters mild and the soil fertile. As their cattle and swine procured their own support in the woods, and multiplied fast, they were enabled, with little labour, to live in the enjoyment of abundance. Their number was annually augmented; they ac-

knowledgeed no superior upon earth, and obeyed no laws but those of God and nature.

In 1661, another settlement was made, near the mouth of Clarendon River, by adventurers from Massachusetts. The land being sterile, and the Indians hostile, they, in 1663, abandoned it. Immediately afterwards, their place was supplied by emigrants from Barbadoes, who invested Sir John Yeomans with the authority of governor.

Sir Robert Heath having neglected to comply with the conditions of his patent, the king, in 1663, granted the same territory to the historian and prime minister, Lord Clarendon, the duke of Albemarle—who, when General Monk, took the lead in the restoration,—the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, all eminent men, and to several associates, and invested them with ample powers of government over those who should inhabit it. They sent out an expedition to explore the country, and finding that the settlement at Albemarle was beyond their northern boundary, obtained another charter, which included it. To encourage emigration, they gave public assurances, that all who should remove to their territory should enjoy unrestricted religious liberty, and be governed by a free assembly. The settlers at Albemarle were, on certain conditions, allowed to retain their lands. A government over them was organized, at the head of which a Mr. Drummond was placed; and a legislative assembly met there in 1667. Of its doings nothing is known, except that it petitioned the proprietors that the settlers might hold their lands on more favourable conditions, which was granted.

The grantees were men eminent for their talents, exalted in station, and rendered self-confident by their success in life: their pride was, perhaps, not unmixed with benevolence; and they sought to gratify both, and to render their fame immortal, by laying the foundation of a state which should surpass, in its realities, the fabled Oceana and Arcadia. Their vast, uninhabited wilderness afforded a fine opportunity for an experiment. They applied to John Locke, whose political writings were then much read and admired, to prepare, for their colony, a constitution of government.

It divided their territory into counties, each to contain 480,000 acres of land; it created two hereditary orders of nobility, landgraves and caciques, assigning one landgrave and two caciques to each county, and reserving for the proprietors one fifth, for the nobility one fifth, and for the people the remaining three fifths of the land within it. The office and powers of the proprietors were to be hereditary; they, with forty-two councillors, were to constitute a grand council, over which the eldest proprietor, to be called the palatine,

was to preside; and this council was to exercise the sovereign power. The landgraves, the caciques, one deputy of each proprietor, and deputies to be chosen every two years by the people, were to constitute a parliament, or legislative body, all sitting together, and each member having one vote: this parliament could deliberate and act only on bills proposed by the grand council; and the proprietors might negative all laws. Various courts were established, and many minor regulations adopted.

This constitution was signed by the proprietors, in the beginning of the year 1670. However wise it might seem to English politicians, it was by no means adapted to the sentiments and habits of the people for whom it was prepared. It was not such a form of government as they had been led to expect; its aristocratic features displeased them, and the measures adopted to introduce and enforce it produced general discontent.

In 1670, William Sayle, under the direction of the proprietors, made a settlement at Port Royal, within the limits of South Carolina. The next year, dissatisfied with this station, he removed his colony northward, to a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers, where he laid out a town, which, in honour of the king then reigning, he called Charleston. Dying soon after, Sir John Yeomans, who had for several years been governor at Clarendon, was appointed to succeed him. This new settlement attracted at first many inhabitants from that at Clarendon, and at length entirely exhausted it. Being remote from Albemarle, the proprietors established a separate government over it; and hence arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina.

The proprietors considered themselves the owners of the soil. They had expended large sums in the commencement of their undertaking, and naturally expected to receive remuneration, and eventually to increase their fortunes. The terms on which they sold their land, to those who paid in advance, were, for every thousand acres, twenty pounds, (about one hundred dollars,) and an annual quitrent of one shilling for every hundred acres; and to others an annual quitrent of one penny for every acre. They supplied the settlers with cattle and provisions upon credit, and to be paid for in the products of the country. When the time of payment arrived, the ability or the inclination was often wanting. Many of the settlers were not of a description to feel, in its full force, a legal or moral obligation. They had no schoolmaster, no clergyman, and no printing press, among them. If laws are an index of character, some knowledge of theirs may be gained from one in force before the constitution of Locke was adopted. It declared "that no subject should be sued within five years

for any cause of action that may have arisen out of the county ; and that no person should receive a power of attorney to collect any debt contracted out of the county." The officers appointed to collect rents and taxes were complained of, perhaps with reason, as oppressive ; and so embittered became the feelings of the people, that but little was wanting to impel them to open insurrection.

One Miller, who had become obnoxious to the people, was arrested on some charge of misconduct, and sent to Virginia to be tried by Sir William Berkeley, who was a proprietor. He was acquitted, went to England to seek redress, and was sent back with the appointment of deputy of one of the proprietors, and collector of the customs. It became his duty to enforce the acts of trade, absurdly unjust and unpopular in all the colonies, by one of which acts the commerce of each colony was confined to the mother country. An illicit traffic had, for some time, been carried on between the people of New England and of North Carolina, the former bringing "some necessaries, many trilles, and a plentiful supply of ardent spirits," and exchanging them for tobacco, the staple of the colony. This traffic the proprietors and government had endeavoured to suppress, not only because it was illegal, but because it impoverished the people ; but they, on their part, encouraged it. Miller was a man of violent passions, had no disposition to indulge the people, performed his duty with rigour, and of course exasperated them.

About this time, one Culpepper, compelled to flee from South Carolina, appeared at Albemarle, joined the disaffected, and by noisy declamation increased the excitement. The New England traders joined the same party. In 1677, Captain Gillam arrived from the north with a cargo of such goods as had usually been brought. He was arrested, by order of the president, upon the charge of a breach of the revenue laws. The people espousing his cause, assembled, seized and imprisoned the president and six members of the council, of whom Miller was one, and assumed the control of the colony. Culpepper, who had been the chief actor in the insurrection, discharged for a while the profitable duty of collector. Eastchurch, who had been appointed governor, arrived soon after, but the insurgents refused to receive him. He applied to Virginia for assistance to quell the insurrection, but died before the troops could be raised. The insurgents, becoming alarmed, despatched Culpepper to England with a promise of submission, and a demand for the punishment of Miller. But Miller appeared there also, having, with his fellow-prisoners, escaped from confinement. Culpepper was indicted and tried for high treason, but was acquitted upon his plea that the disturbance could only be considered a riot.

The proprietors, not having the means either to punish or enforce obedience, gave to one of their number, Seth Sothel, who had purchased the share of Lord Clarendon, the appointment of governor, and sent him to receive the submission of the people and to restore harmony. No appointment could have been more unfortunate. He is represented as the most corrupt and rapacious of colonial governors. He plundered the innocent, and received bribes from felons. For six years, the inhabitants endured his injustice and oppression. They then seized him, with a view of sending him to England for trial. At his request, he was detained and tried by the assembly, who banished him from the colony.

His successor was Philip Ludwell, of Virginia; and to him succeeded John Archdale, who was a Quaker, and one of the proprietors. Both were popular governors: under their administration, the colony prospered, and the people were happy. In 1693, at the request of the Carolinians, the constitution of Locke was abrogated by the proprietors, and each colony was afterwards ruled by a governor, council, and house of representatives. This famous constitution left no trace behind it.

In 1707, a company of French Protestants arrived, and seated themselves on the River Trent, a branch of the Neuse. In 1710, a large number of Palatines, fleeing from religious persecution in Germany, sought refuge in the same part of the province. To each of these the proprietors granted one hundred acres of land. They lived happy, for a few years, in the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, and in the prospect of competence and ease. But suddenly a terrible calamity fell upon them. The Tuscarora and Coree Indians, smarting under recent injuries, and dreading total extinction from the encroachment of these strangers, plotted, with characteristic secrecy, their entire destruction. Sending their families to one of their fortified towns, twelve hundred bowmen sallied forth, and, in the same night, attacked, in separate parties, the nearest settlements of the Palatines. Men, women, and children, were indiscriminately butchered. The savages, with the swiftness and ferocity of wolves, ran from village to village. Before them was the repose of innocence; behind, the sleep of death. A few, escaping, alarmed the settlements more remote, and hastened to South Carolina for assistance.

Governor Craven immediately despatched, to the aid of the sister colony, nearly a thousand men, under the command of Colonel Barnwell. After a fatiguing march through a hideous wilderness, they met the enemy, attacked, defeated, and pursued them to their fortified town, which was immediately besieged. In a few days, peace, at their solicitation, was concluded, and Colonel Barnwell returned to South Carolina. of

The peace was short; and, upon the recommencement of

hostilities, assistance was again solicited from the southern colony. Colonel James Moore, an active young officer, was immediately despatched, with forty white men and eight hundred friendly Indians. He found the enemy in a fort near Cotechny River. After a siege, which continued more than a week, the fort was taken and eight hundred Indians made prisoners. The Tuscaroras, disheartened by this defeat, migrated, in 1713, to the north, and joined the celebrated confederacy denominated the Five Nations. The others sued for peace, and afterwards continued friendly.

Until 1729, the two Carolinas, though distinct for many purposes, remained under the superintendence and control of the same proprietors. Neither had been prosperous; and the interests of the governors and governed being apparently adverse to each other the latter became discontented and refractory. They complained to the king, who directed inquiry to be made in his courts. The controversy was closed by an agreement, between the government and seven of the eight proprietors, by which the latter conveyed to the crown all their rights of soil and jurisdiction, and transferred to it the quitrents then due, for about one hundred thousand dollars, a sum probably insufficient to remunerate them for their expenditures. The territory was then divided into two colonies, and each was afterwards governed by executive officers appointed by the king, and an assembly chosen by the people. Lord Carteret, the other proprietor, surrendered his right to jurisdiction, but retained his right of soil, and his descendants have never yet parted with it.

Soon after this event, the soil in the interior of North Carolina was found to be superior in fertility to that on the seacoast. The settlements, consequently, advanced rapidly into the wilderness. From the northern colonies, particularly Pennsylvania, multitudes were allured to this region by the mildness of the climate, and by the facility of obtaining in abundance all the necessaries of life: At peace with the Indians, and fortunate in her governors, the colony continued to prosper until the commencement of the troubles which preceded the revolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THIS colony and that of North Carolina were, as has already been stated, included in the same charter. In January, 1670, William Sayle, who had been appointed governor by the pro-

prietors, accompanied by Joseph West, their commercial agent, set sail from England, conducting a small body of emigrants, destined to Carolina. They first landed at or near Beaufort; but, that place not being suitable for a settlement, they proceeded to Ashley River, where, on the first high land, they began to erect habitations. Soon after, a convention was held, by which five members of the grand council were elected,—the proprietors having appointed the same number,—and twenty delegates or deputies were chosen. Governor Sayle, the ten members of the grand council, and the twenty deputies, constituted the government. This was a compliance, as near as was then practicable, with the constitution of Mr. Locke, of which some account has been given in the history of North Carolina.

The next year, Sir John Yeomans arrived from Barbadoes, with a cargo of African slaves. It was then thought that none but negroes could endure to labour in that fervid climate; and the settlers, willing to subsist on the labour of others, did not care to inquire whether the necessity of planting a colony there was sufficient to justify holding their fellow-men in bondage. Others were afterwards introduced, and in a very few years the number of slaves considerably exceeded that of the free. Upon the death of Sayle, Yeomans was appointed governor.

Several circumstances contributed to promote the settlement of this colony. The conquest of New York induced many of the Dutch to resort to it. From England, Puritans came to avoid the profanity and licentiousness which disgraced the court of Charles the Second; and Cavaliers, to retrieve their fortunes, exhausted by the civil wars. The arbitrary measures of Louis XIV. drove many French Protestants into exile, some of whom crossed the Atlantic and settled in Carolina. Many of these exiles were rich; all were industrious, and by their exemplary demeanour gained the good will of the proprietors.

The situation of Charleston being found inconvenient, the inhabitants, in 1680, removed to Oyster Point, at the confluence of Ashley and Cooper Rivers, where a new city was laid out, to which the name of the other was given. In the same year commenced a war with the Westoes, a powerful tribe of Indians, which threatened great injury to the colony. Peace, however, was soon restored. In 1680, Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors, having, for corrupt conduct, been driven from North Carolina, appeared suddenly at Charleston, and aided by a powerful faction, assumed the reins of government. Two years afterwards, he was removed from office.

The proprietors, having observed the good conduct of the French Protestants, directed the governor to permit them to

elect representatives—a privilege which they had not yet enjoyed. The English Episcopalians, from national antipathy and religious motives, opposed the concession with zeal. In their discussion of the subject, warmed by opposition,—for the whole people became excited and angry,—they insisted that, by the laws of England, the French Protestants were aliens; that they could not possess real estate in the colony; that their marriages, being solemnized by ministers not ordained by bishops, were void; and that their children could not inherit the property of their fathers. By this display of a spirit so illiberal, these strangers were alarmed and discouraged. They knew not for whom they laboured. But, countenanced by the governor, they remained in the colony, and, for the present, withdrew their claim to the right of suffrage.

Yet the ferment did not subside on the removal of the cause which produced it. Such was the general turbulence and disorder, the people complaining of their rulers, and quarrelling among themselves, that, in 1695, John Archdale was sent over, as governor of both Carolinas, and invested with full power to redress all grievances. He succeeded in restoring order, but found the antipathy against the unfortunate exiles too great to be encountered, with any hope of success, until softened by time and their amiable deportment. These produced the effects which he anticipated. In a few years, the French Protestants were admitted, by the general assembly, to all the rights of citizens and freemen.

Although proprietors, by the regulations which were in force before the constitution of Locke was adopted, and which were restored upon its abrogation, had stipulated, that liberty of conscience should be universally enjoyed, yet one them, Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, and James Moore, the governor, resolved to effect, if possible, the establishment, in the colony, of the Episcopal religion. They knew that a majority of the people were dissenters, and that by art and intrigue only could their design be accomplished. The governor, who was avaricious and venal, became the tool of Granville. He interfered in the elections, and, by bribing the voters, succeeded in procuring a majority in the assembly who would be subservient to his wishes.

A law was passed excluding dissenters from a seat in the assembly; and a majority being thus secured, another law was subsequently passed establishing the Episcopal religion. Both were laid before the proprietors, without whose sanction they could not possess permanent validity. Archdale who had returned to England, opposed their confirmation with ability and spirit. He insisted that good faith, policy, interest, even piety, concurred to dictate their rejection. But

Lord Granville declared himself in favour of them, and they received confirmation.

The dissenters saw themselves deprived of those privileges for which they had abandoned their native country, and encountered the dangers and hardships of the ocean and a wilderness. Some prepared to leave the colony and settle in Pennsylvania. Others proposed that a remonstrance against the laws should be presented to the house of lords, and this measure was adopted. The lords, by vote, expressed their disapprobation of the law excluding dissenters from the assembly; the queen concurred in their censure; and that law was afterwards repealed; but the Episcopal religion long remained the established religion of the colony, and all were compelled to contribute to support its ministers,

In 1702, war then existing between England and Spain, Governor Moore, thirsting for Spanish plunder, led an expedition against St. Augustine. It was badly planned, worse executed, and failed. Returning from defeat abroad, he met, at home, the reproaches of his people. To silence these, he marched at the head of a body of troops, against the Appalachian Indians, who had become insolent and hostile. In this expedition he was successful, taking many prisoners, and laying their towns in ashes. By his victories over the savages, he retrieved his character; and, by selling the prisoners as slaves, obtained what he most coveted—considerable personal emolument.

In 1706, the Spaniards, from Florida, invaded Carolina. The governor, Nathaniel Johnson, having received intimation of their approach, erected fortifications, and made arrangements to obtain, on short warning, the assistance of the militia. When the enemy's fleet appeared before Charleston, the whole strength of the colony was summoned to defend it. A force so formidable insured its safety. After burning a few detached buildings, the enemy retired without inflicting other injury. One of their ships, having ninety men on board, was captured by the Carolinians.

In 1715, after several years of profound peace, an Indian war broke out. All the tribes, from Florida to Cape Fear, had been long engaged in a conspiracy to extirpate the whites. In the morning of the 15th of April, the first blow was struck. At Pocataligo, and the settlements around Port Royal, ninety persons were massacred. The inhabitants of the latter place escaped, by embarking precipitately on board a vessel, which was then in harbour, and sailing directly to Charleston.

This massacre was perpetrated by the southern Indians. The northern, at the same time, attacked the settlements near them. Many of the inhabitants were killed, and many fled to Charles-

ton. At a plantation on Goose Creek, seventy whites and forty faithful negroes, being protected by a breastwork, determined to maintain their post. On the first attack, their courage failed, and they agreed to surrender. The instant they were in the power of the enemy, all were barbarously murdered.

Governor Craven, at the head of twelve hundred men, marched against the savages. He discovered in the wilderness several small parties, who fled before him. At Saltcatchers, he found them all assembled; and there an obstinate and bloody battle was fought. The whites were victorious, driving the enemy before them, and compelling them to leave the province. Most of them fled to Florida, where they were received in the most friendly manner by the Spaniards.

In this short war, four hundred whites were killed, property of great value destroyed, and a large debt contracted. The proprietors, though earnestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to pay any portion of the debt. The assembly determined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms offered were so favourable, that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the frontiers. The proprietors, refusing to sanction the proceedings of the assembly, deprived these emigrants of their lands. Some, reduced to extreme poverty, perished from want; others resorted to the northern colonies. A strong barrier between the old settlements and the savages was thus removed, and the country again exposed to their incursions. The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters.

The corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of the former, the governor and council complained to the proprietors, and solicited his recall. Instead of removing him, they thanked him for his services, and removed those members of the council who had been most active against him. The patience of the people was exhausted, and they waited only for a favourable opportunity to throw off their oppressive yoke. In 1719, at a general review of the militia at Charleston, occasioned by a threatened invasion of the colony from Florida, the officers and soldiers bound themselves, by a solemn compact, to support each other in resisting the tyranny of the proprietors; and the assembly, which was then in session, requested the governor, by a respectful address, to consent to administer the government in the name of the king.

He refused, and, by proclamation, dissolved the assembly. The members immediately met as a convention, and elected Colonel James Moore their governor. He was a bold man, and exceedingly well qualified for a popular leader in a turbulent

season. He accepted the appointment, and, assisted by the convention, and supported by the people, administered the affairs of the colony.

The conduct of the proprietors and people was brought before his majesty in council. After a full hearing, it was decided, that both colonies should be taken under the protection of the crown. Several years afterwards, seven of the proprietors sold to the king their claim to the soil and rents, and all assigned to him their right of jurisdiction. The government was subsequently administered by executive officers appointed by the crown, and by assemblies chosen by the people; and under their control the colony prospered.

In 1738 occurred an alarming insurrection of the negroes. A number of them assembled at Stono, surprised and killed two men who had charge of a warehouse, from which they took guns and ammunition. They then chose a captain, and, with drums beating and colours flying, marched south-westward. They burned every house on their way, killed all the whites they could find, and compelled other negroes to join them.

Governor Bull, who was returning to Charleston from the southward, accidentally met them, hastened out of their way, and spread an alarm. The news soon reached Wiltown, where, fortunately, a large congregation were attending divine service. The men having, according to a law of the province, brought their arms to the place of worship, marched instantly in quest of the negroes, who, by this time, had become formidable, and spread terror and desolation around them.

While, in an open field, they were carousing and dancing, with frantic exultation at their late success, they were suddenly attacked by the whites. Some were killed; the remainder fled. Most of the fugitives were taken and tried. They who had been compelled to join the conspirators, were pardoned; but all the leaders and first insurgents suffered death. About twenty whites were murdered.

From this period until the era of the revolution, no important event occurred in the colony. It was sometimes distressed by Indian wars; but the number of inhabitants and the means of subsistence and comfort were constantly increasing. Emigrants came principally from the northern colonies; but often large bodies of Protestants arrived from Europe: in one year, 1752, the number who came exceeded sixteen hundred.

CHAPTER XIV.

GEORGIA.

UPON the southern part of the territory included in the Caroline charter no settlement was made until several years after that charter was forfeited. In June, 1732, several benevolent gentlemen, in England, concerted a project for planting a colony in that unoccupied region. Their principal object was to relieve, by transporting thither, the indigent subjects of Great Britain; but their plan of benevolence embraced also the persecuted Protestants of all nations.

To a project springing from motives so noble and disinterested, the people and the government extended their encouragement and patronage. A patent was granted by the king, conveying to twenty-one trustees the territory now constituting the state of GEORGIA, which was to be apportioned gratuitously among the settlers; and liberal donations were made by the charitable, to defray the expense of transporting them across the Atlantic, and of providing for their support the first season.

The concerns of the colony were managed by the trustees, who freely devoted much of their time to the undertaking. Among other regulations, they provided that the land should not be sold nor devised by the owners, but should descend to the male children only; they forbade the use of rum in the colony, and strictly prohibited the importation of negroes. But none of these regulations remained long in force.

In November, 1732, one hundred and thirteen emigrants embarked for Georgia, at the head of whom the trustees had placed James Oglethorpe, a zealous and active promoter of this scheme of benevolence. In January, they arrived at Charleston; and the Carolinians, sensible of the advantage of having a barrier between them and the Indians, gave the adventurers a cordial welcome. They supplied them with provisions and with boats to convey them to the place of their destination. Yamacraw Bluff, since called Savannah, was selected as the most eligible place for a settlement.

The next year, five or six hundred poor persons arrived, and to each a portion of the wilderness was assigned. But it was soon found that these emigrants, who were the refuse of cities, had been rendered poor by idleness, and irresolute by poverty, were not fitted to fell the mighty groves of Georgia. A race more hardy and enterprising was necessary. The trustees, therefore, offered to receive, also, such as had not, by persecution or poverty, been rendered objects of compassion,

and to grant to all, who should settle in the colony, fifty acres of land. In consequence of this offer, more than four hundred persons from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, arrived in the year 1735. The Germans settled at Ebenezer, the Scotch at New Inverness, now Darien.

In 1736, John Wesley, a celebrated Methodist, made a visit to Georgia, for the purpose of preaching to the colonists, and converting the Indians. He was then young and ardent: the people around him felt less ardour than himself, and his pious zeal soon brought him into collision with some of the principal settlers. He was accused of diverting the people from their labour to attend his religious meetings, and of exercising unwarranted ecclesiastical authority. Persecuted by his enemies, and finding he could render no further service to the cause of religion in the colony, he returned to England, and there, for many years, pursued a mingled career of piety and usefulness.

Two years afterwards, George Whitfield, another and more celebrated Methodist, arrived in the colony. He had already made himself conspicuous in England by his numerous eccentricities, his ardent piety, his extraordinary eloquence, his zeal and activity in propagating his opinions. He came to Georgia for the benevolent purpose of establishing an orphan house, where poor children might be fed, clothed, and educated in the knowledge of Christianity. In prosecution of this purpose, he often crossed the Atlantic, and traversed Great Britain and America, soliciting aid from the pious and charitable. Wherever he went, he preached, with sincerity and fervour, his peculiar doctrines, making proselytes of most who heard him, and founding a sect which has since become numerous and respectable. His orphan house, during his life, did not flourish, and, after his death, was entirely abandoned.

In 1740, the trustees rendered an account of their administration. At that time, two thousand four hundred and ninety-eight emigrants had arrived at the colony. Of these, fifteen hundred and twenty-one were indigent Englishmen, or persecuted Protestants. The benefactions, from government and from individuals, had been nearly half a million of dollars; and it was computed that, for every person transported and maintained by the trustees, more than three hundred dollars had been expended.

The hope which the trustees had cherished, that the colony, planted at such vast expense, would be prosperous, and the objects of their benevolence happy, was completely disappointed. Such was the character of the greater part of the settlers, and such the restrictions imposed, that the plantations languished, and continued to require the contributions of the charitable.

War having been declared against Spain, Mr. Oglethorpe was promoted to the rank of general in the British army, and, at the head of two thousand men, partly from Virginia and the Carolinas, undertook an expedition against Florida. He took two Spanish forts, and besieged St. Augustine; but, encountering an obstinate resistance, was compelled to return unsuccessful to Georgia.

Two years afterwards, the Spaniards, in retaliation, prepared to invade Georgia; and they intended, if successful there, to subjugate the Carolinas and Virginia. On receiving information of their approach, General Oglethorpe solicited assistance from South Carolina. But the inhabitants of that colony, entertaining a strong prejudice against him, in consequence of his late defeat, and terrified by the danger which threatened themselves, determined to provide only for their own safety.

Meanwhile General Oglethorpe made preparations for a vigorous defence. He assembled seven hundred men, exclusive of a body of Indians, fixed his head-quarters at Frederica, on the Island of St. Simon, and, with this small band, determined to encounter whatever force might be brought against him.—It was his utmost hope that he might be able to resist the enemy until a reinforcement should arrive from Carolina, which he daily and anxiously expected.

On the last of June, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, and having on board more than three thousand men, came to anchor off St. Simon's bar. Notwithstanding all the resistance which General Oglethorpe could oppose, they sailed up the river Alatomaha, landed upon the island, and there erected fortifications.

General Oglethorpe, convinced that his small force, if divided, must be entirely inefficient, assembled the whole of it at Frederica. One portion of it he employed in strengthening his fortifications: the Highlanders and Indians, ranging night and day through the woods, often attacked the outposts of the enemy. The toil of the troops was incessant; and the long delay of the expected succours, so cruelly withheld by South Carolina, caused the most gloomy and depressing apprehensions.

Learning that the Spanish army occupied two distinct positions, Oglethorpe conceived the project of attacking one by surprise. He selected the bravest of his little army, and in the night marched, entirely unobserved, to within two miles of the camp which he intended to assail. Directing his troops to halt, he advanced, at the head of a small body, to reconnoitre the enemy. While thus employed, a French soldier of his party, firing his musket, deserted to the Spaniards.—Discovery destroying all hope of success, the general imm

diately returned to Frederica. He was not only chagrined at this occurrence, but apprehended instant danger from the disclosure which the deserter would doubtless make of his weakness.

In this embarrassment, he devised an expedient which was attended with the most happy success. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica; to urge them to attack the place, and, if he could not succeed, to persuade them to remain three days longer on the island; for, within that time, according to late advices from Carolina, he should receive a reinforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war.—He cautioned him against dropping any hint of the attack meditated, by Admiral Vernon, upon St. Augustine, and assured him that the reward for his services should be ample.

For a small bribe, a soldier who had been made a prisoner in one of the numerous skirmishes, engaged to deliver this letter to the deserter, and was then set at liberty. As was foreseen, he carried it directly to the Spanish general, who immediately suspected the deserter to be a spy from the English camp, and ordered him to be put in irons. But although his suspicions were awakened, he was yet uncertain whether the whole might not be a stratagem of his antagonist.

While hesitating what to believe, three small vessels of war appeared off the coast. Supposing they brought the reinforcements alluded to in the letter to the deserter, he hesitated no longer, but determined to make a vigorous attack upon the English, before these reinforcements could arrive and be brought into action. General Oglethorpe, by mere accident, obtained information of their design. A small party was instantly placed in ambuscade; the Spaniards advanced near them, halted to rest, and laid aside their arms. A sudden and well-directed fire, killing many, threw the enemy into confusion. After a few more discharges, they fled to their fortifications, which they demolished, and, hastily embarking, made every possible effort to escape from the reinforcements that were supposed to be approaching.

Thus was Georgia, with trifling loss, delivered from the most imminent danger. General Oglethorpe not only retrieved, but exalted his reputation. From the Carolinians, grateful for their preservation, and from the governors of most of the northern colonies, he received cordial congratulations upon his address and good fortune. And so mortified were the Spaniards at the result of the expedition, that the commander, on his return, was arrested, tried, and cashiered for misconduct.

But the prosperity of the colony was retarded by these disturbances. For ten years longer, it remained under the management of the trustees, who, embarrassing it by too much

regulation, discouraged the emigrants and checked its growth. At length, disappointed in their hopes, and wearied by complaints, they surrendered their charter to the crown; and, in 1754, a royal government was established over the colony.

New regulations being adopted, Georgia began to flourish. Among her governors, James Wright deserves honourable notice for his wisdom in discerning, and his zeal in pursuing, her true interests. The cultivation of rice and indigo was prosecuted with augmented industry, skill, and profit; and in every succeeding year, an increased amount of these staple commodities was exported to the mother country. The Florida Indians were sometimes troublesome, but were as often chastised, and compelled to sue for peace.

CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL TOPICS.

THE incidents which attended the first settlement of the original THIRTEEN COLONIES, and the most important events which occurred in each, until nearly a century and a half had elapsed after the landing of Smith at Jamestown, have been gathered and recorded. They have struggled through the perils which beset them in infancy; they have gained courage and self-confidence amid sanguinary conflicts and terrible sufferings; have acquired wisdom from the teachings of varied and stern experience; have matured their civil institutions, and, in their struggles with maternal authority, have lost few of their privileges, and forgotten none that they have lost.

Two leading motives, the most powerful, doubtless, of all motives in their operation on men in masses, impelled the people of the Old World to pour themselves upon the New—the love of wealth and the desire of religious freedom. The former gave existence to the colonies of Virginia, the Carolinas, New York, and New Hampshire; the latter to those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In their progress during infancy, both motives aided to swell the population of all; but probably more, in the whole, came over impelled by religious than by worldly motives. But few were induced to emigrate by the love of political, disconnected with religious, freedom. That passion had its growth, if not its birth, in the New World. To whatever rank the emigrants might have belonged at home, here they could not remain long together without perceiving the folly of hereditary distinctions, nor without discovering that all, who were equal in mind and muscle, were equally useful

in their young communities. Insensibly freedom became to them like the air they breathed. They thought not of it until they felt the strange sensation of some foreign restraint upon their actions and pursuits.

The emigrants were of different classes as well as of different nations. New England was settled principally from Old England. In that country, the Norman and Saxon races were never completely amalgamated. In the Cavaliers the Norman, in the Puritans the Saxon, blood prevailed; and New England was settled by the Puritans. In those colonies again appeared the Anglo-Saxon complexion, tenures, and dialect, with less admixture than had existed elsewhere for centuries. Habits of serious, devout contemplation, and of profound thought; a slight proneness to superstition; a willingness to labour; fortitude to endure; and firmness, and even obstinacy, of purpose,—distinguished the settlers of that region, and perhaps also those of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

In the emigrants to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Maryland, the Anglo-Norman blood prevailed. The grantees of those colonies were principally high in rank, noble by title, and followers of the court. Thither flocked Cavaliers at all times, and especially when Puritanism bore sway at home; they brought thither feudal tenures, and the law of primogeniture; there they established the religion of the court, and there they found or introduced the same kind of society as that to which they had been accustomed at home; they formed a landed aristocracy, could live without labour, command obsequious servants and slaves, enjoy the royal sport of hunting, and again act the parts of the Norman nobles under the early successors of William the Conqueror.

At this time Ireland had not begun to overflow upon America. Scotland sent some of her worthiest children, and every colony welcomed all who came. From Holland and Germany migrated families and associated companies, and the states of New York and Pennsylvania bear witness to their skill and success in agriculture, to their industry, economy, and thrift. The bigoted Louis, misnamed the Great, drove thousands of French Protestants into exile; the best of them came to America; their descendants have illustrated the annals of Carolina; and Jay, Boudinot, and Bowdoin, have, by their services and munificence, well rewarded the northern colonies for the protection afforded to their ancestors.

For one trait of character, and that which is even now most conspicuous, all the emigrants must have been distinguished. The mere fact of their leaving the abodes of civilization and crossing the ocean to throw themselves into an untried state of existence, which they knew was beset with perils, proves that they were animated by the spirit of enterprise. The

blood did not move feebly in the veins of those who left the Old for the New World, whether they came to add to their wealth, to worship God in their own way, to prey upon their own species, to hunt in magnificent forests, or to seek romantic adventures where all was new and wild, and wonderful. Of the timid, the idle, the lazy, and the sickly, none came to America; or, if they came, they soon disappeared from among her population. The fathers and mothers of our people were of strong muscles and stout hearts, and their immediate descendants were made hardier, bolder, and more active, by the labours and perils among which they were reared.

The Indians of course receded, the wild beasts fled, and the trees of the forests fell, before them. The virgin earth yielded its increase, even a hundred fold; lofty pines floated down the rivers and across the ocean to a market; the beaver parted with its beautiful fur; and the sea gave up its myriads of fish. The ports of Europe, of the West Indies, and of South America, witnessed the arrival of ships freighted with the commodities of the English colonies,—of which the Indian weed was most coveted abroad,—and the departure of ships carrying to them the manufactures of the Old World, or the tropical productions of the New.

England, prompted by commercial avarice, determined to cast her net over this growing commerce, and draw it all into her own ports. By several statutes, successively enacted, and frequently referred to in our colonial history as the Acts of Trade, the first of which was passed in the year 1660, all foreigners were prohibited from importing merchandise into the colonies; the exportation of certain "enumerated commodities," the produce of the colonies, was confined to countries belonging to the British crown; the exportation of commodities not enumerated was confined to the same countries or to ports south of Cape Finisterre; no commodity could be imported into the colonies except in English ships and from English ports; and duties were required to be paid on commodities exported from one colony to another. The navigation act, passed in 1650, had prohibited foreign vessels from bringing any commodities to England except such as were the produce of the country to which the vessel belonged.

Therefore, though the Dutch might be willing, as they actually were, to carry commodities to and from the colonies for less freight than the English, yet they were not permitted to do it; and however high might be the price of the enumerated commodities, of which tobacco was one, in the markets of Europe, still the colonists could sell them only in England; and however low might be the price, in Europe, of such articles as the colonists were obliged

abroad, for their own consumption, still they could purchase them only of English merchants. To consider and treat her colonies only as the means of enriching the mother country, was the policy of England, as well as of every other European nation.

These acts of trade were odious in all the colonies, but most so in New England; for more of her inhabitants were engaged in navigation, and they were indignant at being restrained from visiting those markets where they could sell at the highest and buy at the lowest prices. In most of the colonies they were considered violations of their charters; in Massachusetts, for a time, they were entirely disregarded; elsewhere they were often violated; and the perpetual conflicts between those who were commissioned to enforce them and those who chose to break them, sustained, as the latter were, by nearly the whole people, spread far and wide the seeds of disaffection, and caused the colonists to regard England rather as the partial oppressor than as the benignant parent.

About the year 1675, the English merchants and manufacturers complained to the king that the inhabitants of New England, disregarding these acts, freely traded to all parts of Europe. An act was immediately passed requiring the governors of all the colonies to take an oath to cause them to be enforced; more custom-house officers were appointed; and his majesty's cruisers were instructed to seize and bring in offenders.

As the wealth and population of the colonies increased, their importance to the nation became more apparent, and the management of them more laborious and difficult. In 1696, a "Board of Trade and Plantations" was established, to which all correspondence with the colonies was committed; and it was specially directed to inquire, not how their prosperity could be promoted, but "how they might be rendered most beneficial to the kingdom." To attain this object, other laws, restricting their trade, were passed, and other articles were added to the list of enumerated commodities, which could be exported only to English markets.

New England carried on a profitable trade with the French, Spanish, and Dutch islands in the West Indies, supplying them with fish, lumber, and grain, and receiving in exchange rum, sugar, and molasses. The planters in the British islands complained. Immediately England, with the view of compelling her continental to trade wholly with her insular colonies, laid a duty, so heavy as, if not evaded, to amount to a prohibition, on rum, sugar, and molasses, imported into the plantations from foreign colonies. This, in effect, deprived New England of a market for a portion of her fish, lumber, and grain.

In 1781, the Board of Trade and Plantations reported a

parliament that, among the manufactures carried on in the colonies injurious to the interests of the parent country, were those of wool and flax, iron, paper, hats, and leather. Upon the petition of the London hatters, an act was passed prohibiting the exportation of hats from the colonies to foreign ports, and even from one colony to another; and, that not being satisfactory, it was made unlawful for any person in the colonies, who had not served an apprenticeship of seven years, to make hats, and for any hatter to have more than one apprentice at a time, and for any negro to work at the business. The manufacturers of iron were also gratified with an act prohibiting the making of steel, and the erection or continuance of any slitting or rolling mill, or plating forge, in the colonies, declaring all such mills and forges to be nuisances, and making it the duty of the governors to abate them or forfeit five hundred pounds. These are given but as samples of the restraints imposed, by the mother country, upon colonial industry.

No accurate statement can be given of the amount or value of the trade of the colonies previous to the revolution. Much of it was carried on contrary to law, and of this the custom-house books give no account. Their commerce with Great Britain and Ireland was doubtless most valuable; then that with the West Indies; then that with the south of Europe; and next that with the Spanish colonies of South America. The latter was prohibited by Spanish as well as English laws, but, in proportion to its amount, was most profitable. The chief articles of export were tobacco, bread, flour, wheat, and corn; of these the value was greater than that of all the other articles; then followed (the order in which they are placed indicating their relative importance) fish, rice, lumber, indigo, furs, whale oil, iron, beef and pork, pot and pearl ashes, horses, deer skins, flax seed, New England rum, &c. &c. The total value of all articles exported, in 1750, could not have been less than ten millions of dollars.

The number of inhabitants can be given only from estimates made by contemporary writers, or by the several governors in their answers to queries transmitted to them by the lords of trade and plantations. An estimate for 1749 states the whole number, including slaves, at 1,046,000, thus apportioned to the several colonies:—

New Hampshire,	30,000
Massachusetts,	220,000
Rhode Island,	35,000
Conn.	100,000
New York,	100,000
Jersey,	60,000

Pennsylvania and Delaware,.....	250,000
Maryland,	85,000
Virginia,.....	85,000
North Carolina,.....	45,000
South Carolina,.....	30,000
Georgia,	6,000

Thus these young communities, which, but a short time ago, were struggling into existence, have, like young pines planted in their chosen soil, become firmly rooted and sent forth vigorous shoots. The people have begun to feel their strength, to know their rights, and to perceive the utter selfishness of their hereditary rulers. The great tide of modern events has begun its perceptible flow. Henceforth it will move on, resistless, increasing in volume and force, receiving no new impulse, developing no new principle, and affording to the profound searcher after the causes of events, the philosophical historian, no opportunity to display his sagacity except in divining and declaring the laws which direct the course, sometimes straight forward and sometimes in mazes, of the individual objects which are borne on its surface, and float at its mercy.

CHAPTER XVI.

FRENCH WAR OF 1756-63.

THE settlements of the French in North America had sensibly impeded the growth and prosperity of the English colonies. That people more readily assimilated with the Indians; they felt less horror of their religious rites; they had too much worldly wisdom to neglect the means of conciliating their friendship, or of inflaming their animosity against their own hereditary rivals. Whenever the two nations were at war, the frontiers of the English colonies were sure to be cruelly afflicted by the incursions of the interior Indians; and those who suffered never doubted by whose instigations the cruelties were perpetrated.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in 1748, between England and France, was followed by peace between the colonists and the Indians. At this time, the English settlements had not advanced far into the wilderness, but extended along the coast from Newfoundland to Florida. At the north, the French had settlements at Cape Breton, Quebec, and Montreal; and they had forts or trading-houses at Cross Point, on Lake Champlain; at the outlet of Lake Onta

on the Canada shore; at the Falls of Niagara; and at Michilimackinac. At the south they had planted New Orleans, and had established ports and trading-houses at several places above, on the Mississippi; in 1680, they built Fort Crevecœur; on the River Illinois; and at various other places in the western country, they had established posts and trading-houses. The whole number of their colonists in America was estimated at fifty-two thousand.

The River Mississippi was discovered by the French; at first, in 1673, near its source, by travellers from Quebec; afterwards by La Salle, at its mouth. Upon this discovery they founded their claim to the fertile and delightful valley through which it runs, from its mouth to the sources of its tributary streams. As some of these approach near to the great lakes, they formed the project of connecting their northern and southern settlements by a chain of posts extending from Lake Ontario to the Ohio, and down that river and the Mississippi to New Orleans, thus placing a barrier to the extension of the English settlements beyond the Alleghany Mountains.

While they were intent upon this project, a company of Englishmen, some residing in London and some in Virginia, having obtained from the king a grant of six thousand acres of land on the Ohio, established trading-houses on the banks of that river. The French, considering this an encroachment upon their territory, seized some of the traders and conveyed them to Canada. As the land had been granted as a part of Virginia, the company complained to the governor of that colony, who determined to send a messenger to the commander of the French forces in the disputed territory, and require him to withdraw his troops. For this mission he selected George Washington, who was then, though but twenty-one years of age, a major in the militia, and who afterwards became illustrious in the annals of his country.

This was in the year 1753. Washington began his journey from Williamsburgh on the 31st of October; on the 14th of November, he arrived at Wills's Creek, now Cumberland, which was then the frontier post of the English; and on the 22d of December, he arrived at the French head-quarters, on a fork of French Creek, in the north-west part of Pennsylvania, and delivered the governor's letter. He returned with the answer from the French commander, that he had taken possession of the country by order of the governor of Canada, to whom he should send the letter he had received, and whose future orders he should implicitly obey.

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were raised, the command of whom, on the death of the colonel first appointed, devolved on Washington, who had been promoted to the office of lieutenant-colonel. At the head of about four hundred men, he advanced, early in 1754, into the territory in dispute. On his route, he met, attacked, and defeated, a French party, who approached him in a manner indicating hostile intentions. He proceeded towards Fort Du Quesne, then recently erected at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, on the spot now occupied by Pittsburgh. From this fort, De Villier, at the head of nine hundred men, marched out to attack him.

Hearing of the approach of this party, Colonel Washington halted and hastily erected, at the Little Meadows, some imperfect works, which he called Fort Necessity, by which means he hoped to prolong his defence until the arrival of reinforcements. He was closely besieged by De Villier, but, making a resolute defence, was offered the most honourable terms of capitulation, which he accepted, and returned with his troops to Virginia.

In this year, delegates from seven of the colonies met at Albany, for the purpose of holding a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, and securing their friendship. This business being finished, a confederation of the colonies was proposed, by the delegates from Massachusetts. A "Plan of Union," drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, who was present as a delegate from Pennsylvania, was, on the fourth day of July, agreed upon, to be submitted to the colonial legislatures and to parliament for their adoption.

This plan provided that delegates to a general council should be chosen, by the representatives of the people, in the colonial assemblies, none choosing more than seven nor less than two; and that a president-general should be appointed by the crown. The counsel was to possess the power to appoint officers, to declare war and make peace with the Indians, and to concert all measures for the common protection and safety. The president-general was to have a negative upon the proceedings of the delegates; and the king might abrogate all laws within three years after their enactment. The plan was rejected by parliament, because the delegates were to be chosen by the representatives of the people. It was rejected by the colonies, because it placed too much power in the hands of the king. In England, apprehensions were already entertained of the growing importance of the colonial assemblies. In America, the people began, perhaps unconsciously, to be actuated by the spirit of independence.

The conduct of the French, on the Ohio, convinced the cabinet of London that their claim to the country through which that river flows must be relinquished, or maintained by the

sword. They did not hesitate which alternative to choose. Early in the spring of 1755, they despatched General Braddock to America, with a respectable force, to expel the French, and keep possession of the territory. And preparations having been made by France to despatch a reinforcement to her armies in Canada, Admiral Boscawen was ordered to endeavour to intercept the French fleet before it should enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

In April, General Braddock met the governors of the several provinces, to confer upon the plan of the ensuing campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon—one against Du Quesne, to be commanded by General Braddock; one against Forts Niagara and Frontinac, to be commanded by Governor Shirley; and one against Crown Point, to be commanded by General Johnson. This last originated with Massachusetts, and was to be executed by colonial troops, raised in New England and New York.

While preparations were making for these expeditions, another, which had been previously concerted, was carried on against the French forces in Nova Scotia. This province was settled by the French, but was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. Its boundaries not having been defined, the French continued to occupy a portion of the territory claimed by the English, and had built forts for their defence. To gain possession of these was the object of the expedition.

About two thousand militia, commanded by Colonel Winslow, embarked at Boston, and, being joined on their passage by three hundred regulars, arrived, in April, at the place of destination. The forts were invested; the resistance made was trifling and ineffectual; and in a short time the English gained possession of the whole province, according to their own definition of its boundaries.

Within these boundaries lived about seven thousand French inhabitants, mild and inoffensive people, but ignorant, bigoted, and devotedly attached to their country. At the time of the cession, they had been permitted to remain, upon taking an oath not to bear arms against the English. Some of them were found in arms when the country was now subdued, and others had, in various ways, aided their countrymen in their hostile operations against the English and their colonies. They were now called upon to take the oath of allegiance without any qualification. This they refused to do; and it was then determined, by the civil authorities of Nova Scotia and the English admirals on the station, to disperse them among the English colonies. This unpleasant duty was imposed upon Colonel Winslow, who endeavoured, in performing it, to lessen, as much as possible, the harshness of their fate. "It is

the hardest," said one who was put on shore at Boston, "that has happened since our Saviour was upon earth." They were distributed among the several towns, and supported as paupers. Many of our respectable citizens may trace their pedigree to the Neutral French.

The preparations of General Braddock had proceeded slowly. It had been found extremely difficult to procure horses, waggon, and provisions. Impatient of delay, he determined to set out with twelve hundred men selected from the different corps, and proceed as rapidly as possible towards Fort Du Quesne. The residue of the army and the heavy baggage were left under the command of Colonel Dunbar, who was directed to follow as soon as the preparations were completed. Having learned that Washington, disgusted with an order which had been promulgated from England, that regular should take rank of provincial officers of the same grade though holding older commissions, had sent in his resignation, Braddock tendered him the appointment of his aid, which he, desirous of studying the art of war under an experienced commander, gladly accepted.

This general had been educated in the English army; and in the science of war, as then taught in Europe, he deserved and enjoyed the reputation of more than ordinary skill. Of this reputation he was vain, and disdained to consider that his skill was totally inapplicable to the mode of warfare practised in the forests of America. Before he left England, he was repeatedly admonished to beware of a surprise; and on his march through the wilderness, the provincial officers frequently entreated him to scour the surrounding thickets. But he held these officers and the enemy in too much contempt to listen to this salutary counsel.

On approaching Fort Du Quesne, Colonel Washington made a last attempt to induce him to change his order of march. He explained the Indian mode of warfare, represented his danger, and offered to take command of the provincials, and place himself in advance of the army. This offer was declined. The general proceeded, confident of the propriety of his conduct; the provincials followed, trembling for the consequences.

On the 9th of July, the army crossed the Monongahela, within a few miles of Du Quesne. Their route led through a defile, which they had nearly passed, when a tremendous yell and instantaneous discharge of fire-arms suddenly burst upon them from an invisible foe. The van was thrown into confusion. The general led the main body to its support. For a moment, order was restored; and a short cessation of enemy's fire, occasioned by the death of their commander, seemed to indicate that all was over.

But the attack was soon renewed with increased fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire. Officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion. The general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat, but bent his whole efforts to restore and maintain order. He persisted in these efforts, until five horses had been shot under him; and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded.

The general at length fell, and the route became universal. The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then sixty miles in the rear. To this body the same panic was communicated. Turning about, they fled with the rest; and although no enemy had been seen during the engagement, nor afterwards, yet the army kept retreating until it reached Fort Cumberland, one hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. There they remained but a short time. With the remnant of the army, amounting to fifteen hundred men, Colonel Dunbar, upon whom, on the death of Braddock, the command devolved, marched to Philadelphia, leaving the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia destitute of defence.

The provincial toops, whom Braddock had so much despised, displayed, during the battle, the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat. Had they been permitted to fight in their own way, they could easily have defeated the enemy. In this battle, sixty-four out of eighty-five officers were either killed or wounded, and at least one half of the privates.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, were both unsuccessful. General Shirley, who had been appointed to command that against Niagara, met with so many delays, that he did not reach Oswego until late in August. While embarking there to proceed against Niagara, the autumnal rains began, his troops became discouraged, his Indian allies deserted him, and he was compelled to relinquish his design.

The forces destined to attack Crown Point, and the requisite military stores, could not be collected at Albany until the last of August. Thence the army, under the command of General Johnson, proceeded to the south end of Lake George, on their way to the place of destination. There he learned, in the ports of France, eluding
at Quebec, and that Baron

Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached Colonel Williams, with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy.

Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled in disorder to the camp. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within one hundred and fifty yards of the breastwork; and, had they made an immediate assault, would, probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted, to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. The firing was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage.

Johnson was wounded in the beginning of the action; and General Lyman of Massachusetts assumed the command. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders or concert, leaped over the entrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The baron was wounded and made prisoner. It is worthy of remark that General Johnson, in his official account of the repulse, did not mention the name of General Lyman. Colonel Williams, while at Albany, had made his will, by which he devised a large tract of land for the promotion of education, thus laying the foundation of Williams College.

The next day, Colonel Blanchard, who commanded at Fort Edward, despatched Captains Folsom and McGinnis, with two hundred men, to the assistance of General Johnson. On their way, they discovered between three and four hundred of the enemy seated round a pond, not far from the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, they determined to attack this body. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a short conflict, the enemy fled. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about two hundred men; the enemy, upwards of seven hundred.

General Johnson, though strongly importuned by the government of Massachusetts, refused to proceed upon his expedition, which was abandoned, and most of his troops returned to their respective colonies. Thus ended the campaign of 1755. It opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made; yet not one of the objects of the three great expeditions had been attained.

During the fall and winter, the southern colonies were ravaged, and the usual barbarities perpetrated upon the frontier inhabitants by the savages, who, on the defeat of Braddock, and the retreat of his army, saw nothing to restrain their fury. In Virginia and Pennsylvania, disputes existed between the governors and legislatures, which prevented all attention to the means of defence. Scarcely a post was maintained, or a soldier employed in their service.

The colonies, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New York, to concert a plan for the ensuing year. He proposed that expeditions should be carried on against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and that a body of troops should be sent, by the way of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere, to alarm the French for the safety of Quebec. This plan was unanimously adopted by the council.

Shirley, on the last of January, returned to Boston, to meet the assembly of Massachusetts, of which colony he was governor. He endeavoured to persuade them to concur in the measures proposed; but, disgusted with the proceedings of the last campaign, and especially at General Johnson's neglecting to pursue his advantages, they were unwilling to engage in offensive operations, unless the command of their forces should be given to General Winslow, who had acquired popularity by his success in Nova Scotia. Their wishes were complied with, and their concurrence was then granted.

In April, news arrived from Great Britain, that the conduct of General Johnson, instead of being censured, was considered highly meritorious; that, as a reward for his success, the king had conferred upon him the title of baronet, and parliament a grant of five thousand pounds sterling; that his majesty disapproved of the conduct of Shirley, and had determined to remove him from command.

This information not being official, General Shirley, continued his preparations with his usual activity and zeal. While engaged in collecting, at Albany, the troops from the different colonies, General Webb brought from England official information of his removal. On the 25th of June, General Abercrombie arrived, and took command of the army. It now

Dieskau, commander of the French forces, was advancing with an army towards the territories of the English. He halted, erected slight breastworks, and detached Colonel Williams, with a thousand men, to impede the progress of the enemy.

Dieskau, who was near, was immediately informed of the approach of this detachment. Without losing a moment, he directed his troops to conceal themselves. The English advanced into the midst of their enemy, and, from every quarter, received, at the same moment, a sudden and unexpected fire. Their leader fell, and the men fled in disorder to the camp. They were followed closely by the enemy, who approached within one hundred and fifty yards of the breastwork; and, had they made an immediate assault, would, probably, such was the panic of the English, have been successful. But here they halted, to make dispositions for a regular attack. The Indians and Canadians were despatched to the flanks, and the regular troops began the attack with firing, by platoons, at the centre. The firing was ineffectual, and the provincials gradually resumed their courage.

Johnson was wounded in the beginning of the action; and General Lyman of Massachusetts assumed the command. A few discharges of the artillery drove the Canadians and Indians to the swamps. The regulars, although deserted by the auxiliaries, maintained the conflict for more than an hour, with much steadiness and resolution. Dieskau, convinced that all his efforts must be unavailing, then gave orders to retreat. This produced some confusion, which being perceived by the provincials, they simultaneously, and without orders or concert, leaped over the entrenchments, fell upon the French soldiers, and killed, captured, or dispersed them. The baron was wounded and made prisoner. It is worthy of remark that General Johnson, in his official account of the repulse, did not mention the name of General Lyman. Colonel Williams, while at Albany, had made his will, by which he devised a large tract of land for the promotion of education, thus laying the foundation of Williams College.

The next day, Colonel Blanchard, who commanded at Fort Edward, despatched Captains Folsom and McGinnis, with two hundred men, to the assistance of General Johnson. On their way, they discovered between three and four hundred of the enemy seated round a pond, not far from the place where Colonel Williams had been defeated. Notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, they determined to attack this body. So impetuous was the onset, that, after a short conflict, the enemy fled. In the several engagements, the provincials lost about two hundred men; the enemy, upwards of seven hundred.

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consisted of about twelve thousand men, and was more numerous and better prepared for the field than any army that had ever been assembled in America.

Singular as it may appear, while this sanguinary war raged in America, the intercourse between the two nations in Europe not only continued uninterrupted, but seemed more than usually friendly. This unnatural state of things could not long continue. Great Britain declared war in May, and France in June.

The change of commanders delayed the operations of the English army. The French were active; and on the 12th of July, General Abercrombie received intelligence that they meditated an attack upon Oswego, a post of the utmost importance. General Webb was ordered to prepare to march with a regiment for the defence of that place. In the mean time, Lord Loudon, who had been appointed commander-in-chief over all the British forces in the colonies, arrived in America.

Amidst the ceremonies which followed, the affairs of the war were forgotten. General Webb did not begin his march until the 12th of August. Before he had proceeded far, he learned that Oswego was actually besieged by a large army of French and Indians. Alarmed for his own safety, he proceeded no farther, but employed his troops in erecting fortifications for their defence.

General Montcalm, the commander of the French troops in Canada, began the siege of Oswego on the 12th of August. On the 14th, the English commander having been killed, terms of surrender were proposed by the garrison, and were agreed to. These terms were shamefully violated. Several of the British officers and soldiers were insulted, robbed, and massacred by the Indians. Most of the sick were scalped in the hospitals, and the French general delivered twenty of the garrison to the savages, that being the number they had lost during the siege. Those unhappy wretches were, doubtless, according to the Indian custom, tortured and burnt.

General Webb was permitted to retreat, unmolested, to Albany. Lord Loudon pretended it was now too late in the season to attempt any thing farther, though the troops under General Winslow were within a few days' march of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and were sufficient in number to justify an attack upon those places. He devoted the remainder of the season to making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year.

The western Indians, sustained and instigated by the French garrison at Du Quene, made frequent incursions in Pennsylvania and Virginia, killing and capturing many, and driving the English from most of the frontier settlements. Soon after the defeat of Braddock, Virginia raised a regiment of troops,

and appointed Washington colonel and commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised in the colony. For more than two years he was constantly occupied in the laborious duty of protecting an extensive and exposed frontier, and, by his skilful dispositions and incessant activity, accomplished all that his inadequate means permitted. In his correspondence with the governor of Virginia and others, he pointed out Du Quesne as the source of all their afflictions, and repeatedly urged the necessity of an expedition against it.

This spring had opened with still more brilliant prospects than the last; and the season closed without the occurrence of a single event that was honourable to the British arms, or advantageous to the colonies. This want of success was justly attributed to the removal of the provincial officers, who were well acquainted with the theatre of operations, but whom the ministry, desirous of checking the growth of talents in the colonies, were unwilling to employ. Yet the several assemblies, though they saw themselves thus slighted, and their money annually squandered, made all the preparations that were required of them for the next campaign.

The reduction of Louisburgh was the object to which the ministry directed the attention of Lord Loudon. In the spring of 1757, he sailed from New York, with six thousand men, and, at Halifax, met Admiral Holbourn, with transports containing an equal number of troops, and a naval force consisting of fifteen ships of the line. When about to proceed to their place of destination, intelligence arrived that the garrison at Louisburgh had received a large reinforcement, and expected and desired a visit from the English. Disheartened by this intelligence, the general and admiral abandoned the expedition.

While the English commanders were thus irresolute and idle, the French were enterprising and active. In March, General Montcalm made an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry, at the south end of Lake George, but was defeated by the vigilance and bravery of the garrison. He returned to Crown Point, leaving a party of troops at Ticonderoga. Against this post, near four hundred men were sent from the fort, under the command of Colonel Parker.

The colonel was deceived in his intelligence, decoyed into an ambuscade, and attacked with such fury, that but two officers and seventy privates escaped. Encouraged by this success, Montcalm determined to return and besiege Fort William Henry. For this purpose, he assembled an army consisting of regular troops, Canadians and Indians, and amounting to near ten thousand men.

Major Putnam, a brave and active partisan obtained information of the purposes of Montcalm, which he communicated

to General Webb, who, in the absence of Lord Loudon, commanded the British troops in that quarter. The general enjoined silence upon Putnam, and adopted no other measure, on receiving the intelligence, than sending Colonel Monro to take command of the fort. The day after this officer, ignorant of what was to happen, had arrived at this post, the lake appeared covered with boats, which swiftly approached the shore. Montcalm, with but little opposition, effected a landing, and immediately began the siege. The garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men animated by the expectation of relief, made a gallant defence.

General Webb had an army at Fort Edward, of more than four thousand men; and it was in his power to call in a large number of provincial troops from New York and New England. To him Colonel Monro sent repeated and pressing solicitations for immediate succour. These he disregarded, seeming entirely indifferent to the distressing situation of his fellow-soldiers. At length, on the ninth day of the siege, in compliance with the entreaties of the friends of Monro, General Webb despatched Sir William Johnson, with a body of men, to his relief. They had not proceeded three miles, when the order was countermanded. Webb then wrote to Monro that he could afford him no assistance, and advised him to surrender on the best terms that he could obtain. This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who, in a conference which he procured, handed it himself to the commander of the fort. All hope of relief being extinguished, articles of capitulation were agreed to. In these it was expressly stipulated by Montcalm, that the prisoners should be protected from the savages by a guard, and that the sick and wounded should be treated with humanity.

But, the next morning, a great number of Indians, having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder. Meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded, whom they immediately massacred. This excited their appetite for carnage. The defenceless troops were surrounded and attacked with fiend-like fury. Monro, hastening to Montcalm, implored him to provide the stipulated guard.

His entreaties were ineffectual, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side, savages were butchering and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage without restraint, until a large number were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness.

The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putman was sent, with his rangers, to watch the enemy. When he came to the

shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was shocking and horrid. The fort was demolished. The barracks and buildings were yet burning. Innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiled in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping-knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity were every where scattered around.

General Webb, apprehensive of an attack upon himself, sent expresses to the provinces for reinforcements. They were raised and despatched with expedition; but as Montcalm returned to Ticonderoga, they were kept in service but a few weeks. And thus ended the third campaign in America.

These continual disasters resulted from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, who rose, by the force of his talents alone, from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the controul of the destinies of a mighty empire. Public confidence revived, and the nation seemed inspired with new life and vigour.

For the next campaign, the ministry determined upon three expeditions—one of twelve thousand men, against Louisburgh; one of sixteen thousand, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and one of eight thousand, against Fort Du Quesne. The colonies were called upon to render all the assistance in their power. Lord Loudon having been recalled, the command of the expedition against Louisburgh was given to General Amherst, under whom General Wolfe served as a brigadier. The place was invested on the 12th of June. Amherst made his approaches with much circumspection; and, without any memorable incident, the siege terminated, on the 26th of July, by the surrender of the place. Whenever an opportunity occurred, General Wolfe, who was then young, displayed all that fire, impetuosity and discretion, which afterwards immortalized his name.

The expedition against Ticonderoga was commanded by General Abercrombie. He was accompanied by Lord Howe, whose military talents and amiable virtues made him the darling of the soldiery. The army consisted of seven thousand regular troops and ten thousand provincials. When approaching the fort, a skirmish took place with a small party of the enemy, in which Lord Howe was killed at the first fire. On seeing him fall, the troops moved forward with an animated determination to avenge his death. Three hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and one hundred and forty made prisoners.

The ardour of his men, and the intelligence gained from the

prisoners, induced General Abercrombie to make an assault upon the works. It was received with undaunted bravery, and was persevered in with singular obstinacy. For four hours, the troops remained before the walls, attempting to scale them, and exposed to a destructive fire of musketry and artillery. The general, despairing of success, then directed a retreat. Near two thousand of the assailants were killed or wounded. The loss of the French was not great, and most of the killed were shot through the head, the other parts of their bodies being protected by their works.

After this bloody repulse, Abercrombie despatched Colonel Bradstreet, with three thousand men, mostly provincials, against Fort Frontenac, which was situated on Lake Ontario, and contained a large quantity of merchandise, provisions, and military stores. It fell an easy conquest, and the loss was severely felt by the French. The western Indians, not receiving their usual supply of merchandise, relaxed in their exertions: and the troops at Du Quesne suffered from the want of the provisions and military stores. These circumstances contributed essentially to facilitate the operations of the third expedition.

This was placed under the command of General Forbes, who was accompanied by Colonel Washington, with his regiment of Virginia troops. He left Philadelphia in the beginning of July, and, after a laborious march, through deep morasses and over unexplored mountains, arrived at Raystown, ninety miles from Du Quesne. An advanced party of eight hundred men, under the command of Major Grant, was met by a detachment from the fort, and defeated, with great slaughter. Forbes, admonished by this disaster, advanced with cautious and steady perseverance. The enemy observing his circumspection, determined not to abide the event of the siege. After dismantling the fort, they retired down the Ohio, to their settlements on the Mississippi. General Forbes, taking possession of the place, changed its name to Pittsburgh.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honourable to the British arms. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed, than in the choice of men to execute his plans.

Encouraged by the events of this year, the English anticipated still greater success in the campaign which was to follow. The plan marked out by the minister was indicative of the boldness and energy of his genius. Three different armies were, at the same time, to be led against the three strongest posts of the French in America—Niagara, Ticonderoga, and

Quebec. The latter post was considered the strongest; and it was therefore intended that, should Ticonderoga be conquered, the victorious army should press forward to assist in its reduction.

In the beginning of July, General Prideaux embarked on Lake Ontario, with the army destined against Niagara, and, on the 6th, landed about three miles from the fort. He immediately commenced a siege, in the progress of which he was killed, by the bursting of a shell. The command devolved upon Sir William Johnson. An army of French and Indians approaching soon after, he detached a part of his forces to meet them. A battle ensued; the English gained the victory, which was followed by the surrender of the fort.

General Amherst, to whom was assigned the expedition against Ticonderoga, found so many difficulties to surmount, that he was unable to present himself before that place until late in July. It was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The British general, after repairing the works, proceeded against Crown Point. On his approach, this was also deserted, the enemy retiring to the Isle aux Noix. To gain possession of this post, great efforts were made, and much time consumed; but a succession of storms on Lake Champlain prevented success. General Amherst was compelled to lead back his army to Crown Point, where he encamped for the winter.

The expedition against Quebec was the most daring and important. The place, strong by nature, had been made still stronger by art, and had received the appropriate appellation of the Gibraltar of America. Every expedition against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and an attempt to reduce it must have seemed chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged, rightly, that [the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful. They arouse the energies of man, and elevate them to the level with the dangers and difficulties to be encountered, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory.

Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburgh had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him, for assistants, Brigadier-Generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season, he sailed from Halifax, with eight thousand troops, and, near the last of June, landed the whole army on the Island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt,

written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it, far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. A short distance down is the river Montmorency, and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly intrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English.

General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the bank of the river opposite Quebec, and from that position cannonaded the town. Some injury was done to the houses; but his cannon were too distant to make any impression upon the works of the enemy. He resolved to quit this post, to land below Montmorency, and, passing that river, to attack the French general in his intrenchments.

He succeeded in landing his troops, and, with a portion of his army, succeeded in crossing the Montmorency. A partial engagement took place, in which the French obtained the advantage. Relinquishing this plan, he then determined, in concert with the admiral, to destroy the French shipping and magazines. Two attempts were unsuccessful; a third was more fortunate; yet but little was effected. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle aux Noix.

Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, but could not avoid contrasting their success with his own ill fortune. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and the extreme chagrin of his spirits, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise.

Despairing of success below the town, he next directed his efforts towards effecting a landing above it. He removed a part of his army to Point Levi, and the remainder higher up the river. He now found that, on this quarter, the fortifications were not strong; and discovered that the heights behind them might possibly be gained, by ascending a precipice in a narrow path, which was defended only by a captain's guard.

The difficulties attending this enterprise were numerous.—The current was rapid, the shore shelving, the only landing-place so narrow, that it might easily be missed in the dark, and the steep above, such as troops, even when unopposed, could not ascend without difficulty. Yet the plan, though bold and hazardous, was well adapted to the desperate situation of affairs, and was determined on.

To conceal their intention, the admiral retired several leagues up the river. During the evening, a strong detachment was put on board the boats, and moved silently down, with the tide, to the place of landing, where they arrived an hour before daybreak. Wolfe leaped on shore, was followed by the troops, and all instantly began, with the assistance of shrubs and projecting rocks, to climb up the precipice. The guard was dispersed, and, by the dawn of day, the whole army gained the heights of Abraham, where the different corps were formed under their respective leaders.

Montcalm, at first, could not believe that the English had ascended the heights. When convinced of the fact, he comprehended the full advantage they had gained. He saw that a battle was inevitable, and prepared for it with promptness and courage. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he advanced towards the English army, which was formed in order of battle to receive him.

The French advanced briskly. The English reserved their fire until the enemy was near, and then gave it with decisive effect. Early in the engagement, Wolfe was wounded in the wrist; but, preserving his composure, he continued to encourage his troops. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin.—This painful wound he also concealed, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and was leading them to the charge, when he received a third and mortal wound.

Undismayed by the fall of their general, the English continued their exertions under Moncton, who, in a short time, was himself wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend. About the same time, Montcalm received a mortal wound: and the second in command also fell. The left wing and centre of the French gave way. Part were driven into Quebec, and part over the river St. Charles.

On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of, "They fly, they fly." "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death so

glorious, and attended by circumstances so interesting, has seldom been recorded.

Five days after the battle, the city surrendered, and received an English garrison. The French concentrated their remaining forces at Montreal, and, early in the spring, made attempts to regain possession of Quebec. Unsuccessful in these, they returned to Montreal, towards which the whole British force in America, under the command of General Amherst, was approaching. This force was too strong to be resisted. In September, 1760, that city surrendered, and soon after all the French posts in Canada fell into the power of the English.

In other parts of the world, their arms were equally successful; and, in 1762, negotiations for peace were opened in Paris. In England, the question was freely discussed, whether it was expedient to retain Canada, or restore it to France. In an anonymous pamphlet, the policy of restoring it was distinctly maintained, on the ground that it would, in the possession of France, serve as a check to the growth of the English colonies, which would otherwise "extend themselves, almost without bounds, into the inland parts, become a numerous, hardy, independent people, living wholly on their own labour, and, in process of time, knowing or caring little about the mother country." Benjamin Franklin, then in London as the agent of Pennsylvania, published a reply, in which he forcibly represented the ingratitude and cruelty of leaving this "check" upon the back of the colonies, which had incurred expenses and made exertions unsurpassed in modern times, to procure exemption from Indian massacre; and plainly intimated that, if deserted by England, they might seek that exemption by throwing themselves into the arms of France. If the English ministry ever entertained such an intention, it was abandoned; the French displayed no repugnance to the cession; and in the beginning of 1763, a treaty was concluded by which France ceded to England all her northern settlements in America. In this relief from all future dread of savage incursions, the colonies found a full compensation for all their losses and sufferings.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLUTION.

IN the late brilliant contest, England had made unprecedented exertions. At its close, she found that, though she had encircled her name with glory, and added extensive territories to

her empire, she had increased, in proportion, the burdens of her subjects, having added three hundred and twenty millions of dollars to the amount of her debt. To find the means of defraying the annual charges of this debt, and her other increased expenditures, was the first and difficult task of her legislators.

Regard for their own interest and popularity compelled them to avoid, if possible, imposing the whole burden upon themselves and their fellow-subjects at home; and their thoughts were turned to the colonies, as the source whence alleviation and assistance might be derived. On their account, it was alleged, the contest had been waged; they would share the advantages of its glorious termination, and justice required that they should also pay a portion of the expenses.

To adopt this expedient, the British ministry were the more naturally led by the opinion which all the European governments entertained of the relation between the mother country and her colonies. They were supposed to be dependent on her will, their inhabitants a distinct and subordinate class of subjects, and their interests entirely subservient to her aggrandizement and prosperity.

Acting upon these principles, Great Britain had, by her laws of trade and navigation, confined the commerce of the colonies almost wholly to herself. To encourage her own artisans, she had even, in some cases, prohibited the establishment of manufactories in America. These restrictions, while they increased her revenues and wealth, greatly diminished the profits of the trade of the colonies, and sensibly impeded their internal prosperity. They were most injurious to New England, where the sterility of the soil repelled the people from the pursuits of agriculture; there they were most frequently violated, and there the arbitrary means adopted to enforce them awakened the attention of a proud and jealous people to their natural rights; to their rights as English subjects; and to the rights granted and secured by their charters.

Even before the treaty of France was signed, but not until after the conquest of Canada, the spirit of resistance to arbitrary vexations was manifested, in Boston, in a manner which ought to have been received as a warning by the ministry. It had been usual for the officers of the customs, when they suspected contraband goods were concealed in warehouses or dwelling-houses, to enter and search for them, by the authority merely of their commissions. This authority was doubted; some merchants resisted, and some brought suits against the officers for illegal entries. The governor was then applied to, and, as the chief civil magistrate, sometimes granted search-warrants; but his authority being questioned, he desisted, and referred the officers to the superior court. This court, sup-

posing it had all the powers exercised by the superior courts in England, then, upon special application, issued writs of assistance, similar to writs of that name which the court of exchequer was authorised by statute to issue, and granting the same power as search-warrants.

But the validity of these writs was also doubted. In 1761, such a writ being applied for, objection was made; and the court, at the request of James Otis, appointed a day to hear an argument upon the power of the court to grant it. The merchants of Boston and Salem, considering the question important to their interests, employed Mr. Otis and Oxenbridge Thatcher to argue against the power of the court. The latter was not only eminent as a lawyer, but distinguished for his love of science and literature, devoted to his country, and fearless in expressing his detestation of the avarice and ambition of the men in power, and his apprehension of their designs upon the liberties of the people. Mr. Otis was a younger man, of ardent passions, lofty spirit, and generous disposition; he held the office of advocate-general in the court of admiralty, and, as such, was requested by the custom-house officers, to sustain their application; but this he refused, and immediately resigned his office.

The nature of the question drew to the court-house, on the day appointed, an immense concourse of people. The attorney-general spoke first in favour of the application; Mr. Thatcher replied, and Mr. Otis followed. His address is represented to have been one of surpassing eloquence. He spoke of the inherent rights of man, of the rights secured to Englishmen by Magna Charta, and to the emigrants by the colonial charters. He expatiated upon the navigation act and the acts of trade; showed that they originated in selfishness, that they violated the rights of the colonists, and that to enforce them was, and must be, tyranny and unmitigated oppression. He declaimed against writs of assistance, likened them to general warrants, referred to instances in which they had been used to gratify personal malice, and contended that they were contrary to the common law, and unauthorized by any statute of England or Massachusetts.

He spoke between four and five hours, "and in a style of oratory," says John Adams, who was present, "that I never heard equalled in this or in any other country. Every man of a crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. The seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain."—The court declined to issue the writ.

Among the acts of trade was one, passed at the solicitation

of the planters in the British islands in the West Indies, imposing a heavy duty on rum, sugar, and molasses, when imported into the colonies from the French islands. This act, if rigidly enforced, would have destroyed a profitable trade with those islands, which received, in exchange for those articles, the fish and lumber of New England. The custom-house officers, convinced of the injustice of the duty, had forborne to exact the whole of it, receiving, without strict inquiry, whatever was willingly offered. In 1763, special instructions were sent to America that this act must be rigidly enforced. "The publication of these instructions," says Minot, "occasioned an alarm in the northern colonies greater than that occasioned by the capture of Fort William Henry, in 1757."

The act before mentioned, being, when passed, limited in its duration, would expire in 1764; and the preamble declared that the object of it was to afford relief to the British West India islands. It was therefore considered an act, not to raise a revenue, but to regulate trade, and as such, though oppressive, within the power of parliament to pass. In the beginning of that year, the act was remodelled; the preamble was made to declare that "it was just and necessary that a revenue should be raised in America;" a duty was laid on coffee, silk, calico, and some other commodities when imported into the colonies; and in this shape it was made perpetual. Mr. Grenville, the prime minister, also proposed a resolution, "that it would be proper to charge certain stamp duties on the colonies," but postponed the consideration of that subject to a future session. As it was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it, provision was made that all penalties for violations of it, and of all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them, without the intervention of a jury.

Intelligence of these proceedings occasioned, in America, great and universal alarm. They were considered the commencement of a system of taxation, which, if not vigorously resisted, would, in time, be extended to every article of commerce, and to every internal source of income; and if the colonists could be deprived in one class of causes, why not in all, of that inestimable privilege, the trial by jury?

The general court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The house of representatives sent a spirited letter of instructions to their agent, in England, in which they denied the right of parliament to impose duties and taxes upon the people not represented in the house of commons; and directed him to remonstrate against the duties imposed, and the stamp act in contemplation. They

also acquainted the other colonies with the instructions they had given to their agent, and desired their concurrence in the mode of opposition adopted. In the course of the year, several other colonies, particularly New York and Virginia, remonstrated, in respectful but decided terms, against the proceedings of parliament.

In these several state papers, the right of Great Britain to collect a tax in the colonies, was explicitly denied; and the denial was supported by clear and powerful arguments. It was stated that the first emigrants came to America with the undoubted consent of the mother country; that all the expenses of removal, of purchasing the territory, and, for a long time, of protection from savage warfare, were defrayed by private individuals, except in the single instance of the settlement of Georgia; that charters, under the great seal, were given to the emigrants, imparting and securing to them, and to their descendants, all the rights, of natural born English subjects; that, of these rights, none was more indisputable, and none more highly valued, than that no subject could be deprived of his property but by his own consent, expressed in person or by his representative; that taxes were but grants, by the representative, of a portion of his own property, and of that of those who had authorized him to act in their behalf. Could it be just, it was asked, that the representatives of Englishmen should "give and grant" the property of Americans? With what safety to the colonies could the right of taxing them be confided to a body of men three thousand miles distant, over whom they had no control, none of whom could be acquainted with their situation or resources, and whose interests would impel them to make the burdens of the colonists heavy, that their own might be light?

But, besides infringing the rights of freemen, the measure was neither equitable nor generous. The colonies had domestic governments which they alone supported; in the late war, their exertions had been greater, in proportion to their ability, than those of England; they also had contracted debts which they must themselves pay; the taxes laid by many of the assemblies were higher than those paid by the inhabitants of England; if the war had been waged on their account, it was because, as colonies, they were beneficial to the mother country; and from its happy termination they derived no advantage which was not the source of ultimate profit to her.

Upon men who entertained the strictest notions of colonial dependence, and parliamentary supremacy, these arguments had little effect. The minister was not diverted from his purpose. In March, 1765, he laid before parliament a bill, imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies. At the first reading, it was warmly opposed;

by some because it was impolitic, by two only because it was a violation of right.

The bill was supported by Charles Townshend, a brilliant orator, on the side of the ministry. At the conclusion of an animated speech, he demanded,—“And these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength any opulence,—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?”

Colonel Barre, immediately rising, indignantly and eloquently exclaimed—“*Children planted by your care!* No! Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelties, of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most terrible, that ever inhabited any part of God’s earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, when they compared them with those they suffered in their own country, from men who should have been their friends.

“*They nourished by your indulgence!* No. They grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were the deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them; men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own.

“*They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence. They have exerted their valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country which, while its frontier was drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your emolument. Believe me, —and remember I this day told you so,—the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further.

“God knows I do not at this time speak from party heat. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience any one here may be, I claim to know more of America, having been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if they should

be violated. But the subject is delicate; I will say no more."

Eloquence and argument availed nothing. The bill was almost unanimously passed. The night after, Doctor Franklin, then in England as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson—"The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." "Be assured," said Mr. Thompson in reply, "that we shall light up torches of quite another sort;" thus predicting the commotion which followed.

The act provided that all contracts and legal processes should be written on stamped paper, which was to be furnished, at exorbitant prices, by the government, or should have no force in law. Information of its passage was received in all the colonies with sorrow and dismay. They saw that they must either surrender, without a struggle, their darling rights, or resist the government of a nation, which they had been accustomed to regard with filial respect, and was then the most powerful in the world.

The general assembly of Virginia was in session when this intelligence arrived. The principal members—those who took the lead in the debate and guided the deliberations—at that time, and for many years before, belonged to the rich landed aristocracy of the colony. At this session, Patrick Henry, chosen to supply a vacancy, took his seat for the first time. He was then a young man, almost destitute of fortune, with little education, of rustic manners, and had lately been licensed to practise as an attorney. A few months previously, before a county court, he had argued a cause, the decision of which depended upon the extent of the powers of the king, and of the rights of the colonial legislature—in other words, of the people; and he had sustained the cause of the people with such boldness and impassioned eloquence, as astonished and captivated the audience. Soon after taking his seat in the house of burgesses, he resisted and defeated a project for establishing a loan-office, introduced and supported for selfish purposes, by the aristocratic leaders of the assembly; thus, at one effort, wresting the reins from their hands, and transferring the control of the house to the other class of representatives. Near the close of the session, having waited, as he observed, until he found that no other member was disposed to step forth, he introduced the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, that the first adventurers and settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities that have, at any time,

been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, that the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

These resolutions were seconded by George Johnston. The debate which followed was able, vehement and eloquent. They were opposed by Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and others, who were afterwards able and active advocates of their country. These members did not controvert the principles asserted in the resolutions, but contended that it was inexpedient to adopt them, the same sentiments, in more conciliatory language, having been at their preceding session, expressed in their petition and memorials, to which no answers had yet been received. The sublime eloquence of Henry and the solid reasoning of Johnston prevailed. The resolutions were adopted: the last, however, which distinctly denied a right which parliament had exercised, was carried by a majority of one vote only.

It is deeply to be regretted that no particular account of this debate has been transmitted to us. Frequent bursts of sublime eloquence, and the bold expression of important political truths, before seldom uttered, must have rendered it interesting to the scholar and the patriot. A single passage in Henry's speech is all that tradition has furnished; and this may present some idea of the orator's manner, and of the character of the debate. While descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious

ous act, he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third—" ("Treason," cried the speaker and others.) Henry, pausing a moment, and fixing his eye on the speaker, finished the sentence—"may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

Mr. Henry left the seat of government the evening after the resolutions were adopted. The next morning, a motion was made to erase the last from the journals; and as Henry was absent, and as some members who had voted for it, had, on reflection, become alarmed at its boldness, the motion prevailed. But by this debate, as well as by the argument of Mr. Otis, at Boston, in 1761, "the seeds of patriots and heroes were sown," which afterwards sprang up and flourished abundantly. The resolutions were industriously but privately circulated, in the principal cities, until they arrived in New England, where they were fearlessly published in all the newspapers.

Nearly at the same time, and before the proceedings of Virginia were known in Massachusetts, her general court adopted measures to procure a combined opposition to the offensive laws. They passed a resolve proposing that a congress of delegates from the several colonies should be held at New York, and addressed letters to the other assemblies, earnestly soliciting their concurrence.

These legislative proceedings took place in May and June 1765. They were the moderate and dignified expression of feelings which animated, in a more intense degree, a great majority of the people. In New England, associations, for the purpose of resisting the law, were organized, assuming, from Barre's speech, the appellation of "Sons of Liberty;" pamphlets were published vindicating the rights of the colonies; and the public journals were filled with essays pointing out the danger which threatened the cause of liberty, and encouraging a bold and manly resistance.

Excited by these publications, a multitude assembled in Boston, on the 14th of August, burned the effigy of Andrew Oliver, who had been appointed stamp distributor, and demolished a building which they supposed he had erected for his office. Fearful of further injury, Mr. Oliver declared his intention to resign, when the people desisted from molesting him.

Several days afterwards, a mob beset the house of Mr. Story, an officer of the detested admiralty court. They broke his windows, destroyed his furniture, and burned his papers. They then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, by whose advice, it was supposed, the stamp-act had been passed. They entered it by force. Himself, his

wife, and children, fled. His elegant furniture was carried off or destroyed. The partitions of the house were broken down, and the next morning nothing but the bare and desolate walls remained.

When intelligence of these proceedings reached Newport, in Rhode Island, the people of that place assembled and committed similar outrages. Two houses were pillaged, and the stamp distributor, to preserve his own, was obliged to give to the leader of the exasperated populace a written resignation of his office. In Connecticut, similar commotions were also quieted by the resignation of the distributor of stamps for that colony.

In New York, the people displayed equal spirit, but less turbulence and rage. The obnoxious act was printed, under the title of "The Folly of England, and the Ruin of America," and thus exhibited for sale in the streets. At an early period, the stamp distributor prudently resigned his office; and, when the stamped paper arrived, it was deposited for safe-keeping in the fort. A mob required the lieutenant-governor to place it in their hands. He refused; but, terrified by their menaces, consented to deliver it to the magistrates, who deposited it in the city hall. Ten boxes, which afterwards arrived, were seized by the people, and committed to the flames.

At a session of the superior court held at Perth Amboy, in New Jersey, the lawyers practising at that court united in declaring that they would not purchase nor use stamps, and that all the gold and silver in the colony was not sufficient to pay the duties for one year. The freemen of Essex county, having met in convention, resolved that they would "detest, abhor, and hold in contempt," all persons who would accept of any office under the act, or would take any advantage of it; and would have no communication with them, "unless it be to inform them of their vileness."

The assembly of Pennsylvania, being in session in September, passed a series of resolutions, in which they asserted the same rights that other colonies had claimed, and declared, moreover, "that to vest in courts of admiralty power to decide suits relating to the stamp act is highly dangerous to the liberties of his majesty's American subjects, and destructive of the trial by jury." When the ships bringing the stamped paper arrived in sight of Philadelphia, all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half-mast high, and the bells were muffled and tolled. The citizens assembled, and procured from Mr. Hughes, the stamp distributor, a promise that he would sell no stamps until the act had been put in execution in the other colonies.

In Virginia, public sentiment was manifested with equal distinctness. The justices of the court of Westmoreland

county resigned their offices, because they might be compelled, in obedience to their oaths, to aid in executing the stamp act; and George Mercer, the stamp distributor, was induced to declare that he would not perform any official duty without the assent of the assembly.

So general was the opposition to the law, that the stamp officers, in all the colonies, were compelled to resign, or engaged not to perform any official duty. In Boston, care was taken, on the one hand, to prevent the recurrence of violent proceedings, and, on the other, to keep in full vigour the spirit of resistance. A newspaper was established, having for its device a snake divided into as many parts as there were colonies, and for its motto, "Join or die." Mr. Oliver was required to resign his office, with more ceremony and solemnity, under a large elm, which had, from the meetings held under it, received the name of the tree of liberty.

In October, the Congress recommended by Massachusetts convened at New York. Delegates from six provinces only were present. Their first act was a Declaration of Rights, in which they asserted, that the colonies were entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain, the most essential of which were the exclusive right to tax themselves, and the privilege of trial by jury. A petition to the king, and a memorial to both houses of parliament, were also agreed on; and the colonial assemblies were advised to appoint special agents to solicit, in concert, a redress of grievances. To interest the people of England in the cause of the colonies, the merchants of New York directed their correspondents, in that country, to purchase no more goods until the stamp act should be repealed. Immediately after, non-importation agreements were adopted in the other colonies, and associations were organized for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. To avoid the necessity of stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended, and disputes were settled by arbitration.

In the mean time, an entire change had taken place in the British Cabinet, and a proposition to repeal the stamp act was, by the new ministry, laid before parliament. An interesting debate ensued. Mr. Grenville, the late prime minister, declared, that to repeal the act under existing circumstances, would degrade the government, and encourage rebellion. "When," he demanded, "were the Americans emancipated? By what law, by what reason, do they ungratefully claim exemption from defraying expenses incurred in protecting them?"

William Pitt—he who had wielded, with such mighty effect, the power of England in the late war—rose to reply. He regretted that he had not been able to attend in his place, and

oppose the law on its passage. "It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this house; but I must beg the indulgence of this house to speak of it with freedom. Assuredly a more important subject never engaged your attention; that subject only excepted, when, nearly a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were bond or free?

"Those who have spoken before me, with so much vehemence, would maintain the act because our honour demands it. But can the point of honour stand opposed against justice, against reason, against right? It is my opinion that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever.

"Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone; when, therefore, in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty—what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty the property of your commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms.

"It has been asked, 'When were the Americans emancipated?' But I desire to know when they were made slaves. I hear it said, that America is obstinate; America is almost in an open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves.

"The honourable member has said,—for he is fluent in words of bitterness,—that America is ungrateful. He boasts of his bounties towards her. But are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? The profits of Great Britain, from her commerce with the colonies, are two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, seventy years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. You owe this to America. This is the price she pays you for protection.

"A great deal has been said without doors, and more than is discreet, of the power, of the strength of America. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on the ground of this tax, when it is wished to prosecute an evident injustice, I am one who will lift my hands and voice against it. In such a cause, your success would be deplorable, and victory *deplorable*. America, if she fell, would fall like the at

would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her."

The sentiments of this great statesman prevailed in parliament. The stamp act was repealed; but another act was passed declaring that "the legislature of Great Britain has authority to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." The merchants of London rejoiced at this repeal. They had felt the effects of the colonial non-importation agreements, and dreaded that still more injurious consequences would follow.

But far greater were the rejoicings of the Americans. They had obtained the object for which they had contended. They regarded the declaratory act as the mere reservation of wounded pride, and welcomed with transport the opportunity of again cherishing their former affection for the land of their fathers. The assemblies of several colonies voted their thanks to Mr. Pitt, and to others in England, who had supported their cause; and that of Virginia resolved to erect an obelisk to their honour, and a marble statue of the king, as a memorial of gratitude.

By the people of New England and New York less joy was felt and less gratitude displayed. The laws imposing duties on their trade were still in force. The courts of admiralty, sitting without juries, still retained jurisdiction of all revenue causes. Their repeated contests with their governors had weakened their attachment to the nation that appointed them, and confirmed their republican principles. They still remembered the past and entertained suspicions of the future.

The very next year, events occurred which justified these suspicions. A law of parliament, called the mutiny act, which yet remained in force, contained a provision that, whenever troops should be marched into any of the colonies, quarters, rum, and various necessary articles, should be furnished for them at the expense of the colony. So long as the troops sent over were employed to defend the colony, no complaint was made of this provision; but this year, an additional body of troops being ordered to New York, the assembly, on the application of the governor, refused to comply with it, on the ground that, in effect, it taxed the people without their consent, and was therefore not obligatory. To punish this disobedience, parliament prohibited the assembly from passing any law until that provision of the mutiny act should be complied with. It was easily seen that nothing had been gained, if this power of suspending, for such a cause, the most important functions of a colonial legislature, existed, and could be exercised at pleasure.

Another act, passed almost contemporaneously, confirmed their suspicions, and increased their alarm. The Rockingham

ministry, under whose auspices the stamp act had been repealed, had been dismissed, and another, of which the Duke of Grafton, General Conway, and Charles Townshend, were prominent members, had been appointed. The new ministry found the treasury empty, provisions dear, the taxes burdensome, and the people discontented and riotous. In the distresses of the nation, the people were dissatisfied that the colonies were not compelled to contribute their proportion; the opposition in parliament echoed the complaints of the people, and Grenville, in one of his speeches, tauntingly told the ministry that they dared not tax them. Townshend, who was chancellor of the exchequer, willing to relieve his English fellow-citizens, and provoked by the taunt, immediately replied that he dared to tax them, and would tax them, believing it could be done in a way which would not conflict with their principles.

He remembered that, in the late disputes, a distinction had been made by Mr. Pitt and some of the colonial writers between internal and external taxes. The stamp tax was then the principal topic of discussion; that was an internal tax; and the writers had contented themselves with showing that it was, for that reason, unauthorized; and probably some had admitted that external taxes were not liable to the same objection. He indulged the hope, therefore, that the colonies would submit to the latter, and soon after brought in a bill, which was passed in June, 1767, imposing a duty on paper, glass, tea, and other enumerated articles, when imported into the colonies. The duty imposed on tea was threepence a pound; and to render this tax palatable, a drawback of a shilling a pound was allowed on the exportation of the tea from England; thus in fact diminishing the whole duty ninepence the pound, but providing that threepence should be paid in the colonial ports, where none had been paid before. And provision was made that the duties collected should be expended in governing, protecting, and securing the colonies.

It had always been difficult to collect duties, or in any way enforce the acts of trade, in the colonies. Distant from the mother country, and obnoxious to public odium, the custom-house officers acted without energy, and often connived at the violation of the laws. Parliament therefore passed another act, authorizing the appointment of a board of commissioners of the customs in America, with extensive powers. It was determined that the place of their sessions should be at Boston; and in the beginning of November three of them arrived at that place, the other two being already there. They were regarded by the people as the instruments of usurped authority

to enforce odious laws, and their presence in the country increased the general irritation.

The general court of Massachusetts did not now admit any distinction between external and internal taxes. In January, 1768, pursuing the same course as in 1764, they addressed a petition to the king, and also a letter to their agent in London, containing many and able arguments against the duties imposed, and requested him to communicate the letter to the ministry. They also sent to the other colonial assemblies a circular letter, in which those arguments were repeated, and suggested the expediency of acting in concert in all endeavours to obtain redress.

These proceedings incensed and alarmed the ministry. They feared that a union of the colonies would give them strength and confidence, and determined, if possible, to prevent it. They instructed Sir John Bernard, then governor of Massachusetts, to require the general court to rescind the vote directing the circular letter to be sent, and, in case of refusal, to dissolve it. The governor communicated these instructions to the house of representatives, which, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was accordingly dissolved. Instructions were also sent to the governors of the other colonies, commanding them "to exert their utmost influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, by prevailing on the several assemblies to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves." Whatever efforts were made by these governors, none or but few of them succeeded. Some of the assemblies addressed to the king petitions against the law; and from many, letters were sent to the general court of Massachusetts, approving its proceedings.

These attempts to intimidate did but strengthen opposition. Non-importation agreements were again resorted to. In August, the merchants of Boston agreed not to import any goods from Great Britain, nor purchase such as should be imported for one year after the first day of the next January; and not to import, nor purchase of any one who should import, from any other colony, paper, glass, tea, &c., which had been imported from Great Britain; and, soon after, the merchants of Connecticut and New York entered into similar agreements.

The general court of Massachusetts being dissolved, the patriots of Boston found that they could not pursue their usual mode of diffusing the principles of liberty and a knowledge of the designs of the ministry among the people, by means of their representatives. A town meeting was called, and a committee appointed, to request the governor to issue precepts for the election of a new assembly. He replied that he could issue no precepts until he had received his majesty's commands. The meeting thereupon chose a committee, consisting of their late

representatives, to act as delegates to a colonial convention; and the select-men were instructed to invite, by a circular, the other towns in the province to choose committees or delegates. Nearly every town complied with the invitation. The convention met in September, and, though it disclaimed all legal authority, was regarded with the same respect as a legitimate assembly. Its proceedings were unimportant; but, by its sessions in the metropolis of New England, the people became accustomed to pay deference to a body of men deriving all their authority from the instructions of their constituents.

On so many occasions had the refractory spirit of the citizens of Boston been displayed, that General Gage, who was commander-in-chief of all the troops in the colonies, was ordered to station a regiment in that town, as well to overawe the citizens, as to protect the officers of the revenue in the discharge of their duty. Before the order was executed, the seizure of the sloop, *Liberty*, belonging to Mr. Hancock, a popular leader, occasioned a riot, in which those officers were insulted and beaten. The general, on receiving information of this event, sent two regiments, instead of one; and on the first of October they arrived in the harbour.

The ships that brought them, taking a station that commanded the whole town, lay with their broadsides towards it, ready to fire, should resistance be attempted. The troops, with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, then landed; and, the select-men having refused to provide quarters, they took possession of the state-house. All the rooms, except one reserved for the council, were filled, and two pieces of cannon were placed near the principal entrance.

With indignant and exasperated feelings, the people witnessed this threatening display of military force. They saw the hall of their venerated legislature polluted by the tread of foreign mercenaries. They saw soldiers parading their streets, and guards mounted at the corners. They were challenged as they passed, and the unwelcome din of martial music often disturbed their repose. They knew that intimidation was the object, and felt a stronger determination to resist than had before animated their bosoms.

Upon the arrival of the troops at Boston, the commanding officer had applied to Governor Bernard to provide for them the articles mentioned in the mutiny act. The general court not being in session, he laid the application before the council, who advised him to authorize some person to supply them, "provided such person will take the risk of being paid by the province such sums as may be expended for that purpose." No person could be found, as the council well knew, who would charge and the articles were provided at the

Resolutions, in the mean time, had been adopted in parliament, censuring, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the people of Massachusetts, and directing the governor to make strict inquiry as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. By these it was rendered sufficiently evident that Great Britain had determined to adhere to the system of measures she had adopted. In May, they were taken into consideration by the house of burgesses of Virginia. In sundry resolutions, they re-asserted the right of the colonies to be exempted from parliamentary taxation, and declared that seizing persons in the colonies, suspected of having committed crimes therein, and sending them beyond sea to be tried, violated the rights of British subjects, as it deprived them of the inestimable right of being tried by a jury of the vicinage, and of producing witnesses on their trial.

While these resolutions were under discussion, the house, apprehensive of an immediate dissolution, should the subject of their deliberations be known to the governor, closed their doors. The instant they were opened a message was announced, requesting their attendance before him. "Mr. Speaker," said he "and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

This, like every previous measure of intimidation, excited to a still higher degree the spirit of opposition. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker to preside as moderator, and unanimously formed a non-importation agreement similar to those previously adopted at the north. In a few weeks, the example of Virginia was followed by most of the southern colonies.

At the time prescribed by the charter of Massachusetts for the election of representatives, only five of the seventeen rescinders, but nearly all of the non-rescinders, were re-chosen. This very clearly indicated the sentiments of the great body of the people. At their session held in the summer of 1769, the governor, by message, desired them to make provision for paying the expenses already incurred in supplying the troops with the articles mentioned in the mutiny act, and also for supplying them in future. In their answer, the house, after dwelling at length upon the provisions of the act, observe that "of all new regulations, the stamp act not excepted, this under consideration is most excessively unreasonable. For, in effect, the yet free representatives of the free assemblies of North America are called upon to repay, of their own and their constituents' money, such sums as persons over whom they can

have no control, may be pleased to expend." And they closed by saying, "Your excellency must therefore excuse us in this express declaration, that, as we cannot, consistently with our honour or interest, and much less with the duty we owe our constituents, so we never shall, make provision for the purpose in your message mentioned."

To the citizens of Boston, the troops quartered among them were a painful and irritating spectacle. Quarrels occurring daily between them and the populace, increased the animosity of each to ungovernable hatred. At length, on the evening of the fifth of March, an affray took place in King Street, (since called State Street,) in which a detachment of the troops commanded by Captain Preston, after being insulted, pelted with snow-balls, and dared to fire, discharged their muskets upon the multitude, killing four persons and wounding others.

The drums were instantly beat to arms, and several thousand people assembled, who, enraged by the sight of the dead bodies of their fellow citizens, slain in a cause dear to them all, prepared to attack a larger detachment, which had been sent to support their comrades. In this state of excitement, they were addressed by Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson, who appeared in the midst of them. Though personally obnoxious, he calmed their fury, and prevailed upon them to disperse until morning.

The next day, Captain Preston and his party were arrested and committed to prison. The citizens met and appointed a committee to demand the immediate removal of the troops from the town. At this meeting, Samuel Adams, one of the earliest patriots, and even then avowing himself in favour of independence, was distinguished for his decision and boldness. After some hesitation on the part of the commanding officer, they were sent to Castle William, and were accompanied by several officers of the customs, who dreaded the indignation of the people.

Three days afterwards, the funeral of the deceased took place. It was conducted with great pomp and unusual ceremonies, expressive of the public feeling. The shops were closed. The bells of Boston, Roxbury, and Charleston, were tolled. Four processions, moving from different parts of the town, met at the fatal spot, and proceeded thence towards the place of interment. This united procession comprised an immense number of people on foot and in carriages, all displaying the deepest grief and indignation. The bodies were deposited together in the same vault.

When the passions of the people had in some degree subsided, Captain Preston and eight of his soldiers were brought to trial. They were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two able lawyers and distinguished leaders of the

popular party. For nearly six weeks the court were employed in examining witnesses and in listening to the arguments of counsel. Captain Preston, not having ordered his men to fire, was acquitted by the jury. Of the soldiers, six were also acquitted, there being no positive testimony that they fired upon the people; and two were acquitted of murder, as great provocation was offered, but found guilty of manslaughter—a result evincing the integrity of the jury and the magnanimity and uprightness of the counsel for the accused.

The unexpected opposition of the colonists to the new duties convinced the ministry that it was expedient to change their measures. Near the close of the year 1769, they, by circular letters to the several governors, which were published, declared that they had at no time entered a design to propose any further taxes upon the colonies, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that they intended to propose, at the next session of parliament, to take off the duties on glass, paper, and colours, “upon consideration of such duties being contrary to the true principles of commerce.” The reason assigned deprived their declared intention of most of its merit. The merchants of Boston, in a general meeting, unanimously voted that repealing the duties on those articles only would not be satisfactory, and confirmed their former non-importation agreement.

At the next session of parliament, Lord North, who had lately been appointed first minister, proposed a bill to repeal all the duties but that on tea. Some members of the opposition strongly urged him to take off all the duties, and not preserve contention while he relinquished revenue. But “Can it be proper,” he replied, “to acquiesce in the argument of illegality, and, by the repeal of the whole law, give up our power? No. The proper time to exert our right of taxation is when the right is denied. A total repeal cannot be thought of until America is prostrated at our feet.” The bill, as proposed, was passed by parliament, and on the 12th of April, 1770, received the royal assent.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REVOLUTION.

THE partial repeal of the revenue duties had no effect upon a large portion of the American people. Their resistance to the claims of Great Britain was founded on principle. They believed that those claims were unfounded, and felt that to submit to them would degrade them from the rank of freemen.

They had become convinced that the prosperity of the colonies depended on their retaining the exclusive right to tax themselves; and the free and fearless discussions which had been carried on had even led them to the conclusion, to which they had no expectation of arriving when the disputes began, that, whatever might be the power of the king, the parliament had no right to legislate for the colonies in any case whatsoever. They believed that their assemblies were their own parliaments, the king standing in the same relation to them that he did to those of England and of Ireland.

Individuals who entertained this opinion were found in all the colonies; but they were much the most numerous in New England. There, commercial restrictions were most sensibly felt; there free principles were most early and most deeply implanted; and there too prevailed, more than elsewhere, deep-rooted hostility to the Church of England, and real dread of being made subject to its power. The southern colonies were differently situated. In them but few were engaged in commerce; they were settled by a different class of people; in most of them the Church of England was established by law; and the mass of the inhabitants were less conversant with political topics.

A rigid adherence, for a long time, to the non-importation agreements, was perhaps more than could be expected of men living in distinct and remote communities, and accustomed to the luxuries and conveniences which could only be obtained from abroad. At first, they were faithfully observed; in time, a few transgressed; reports were circulated in one city, probably by the adherents of the royal cause, that another was faithless, and this was received as an excuse by the first to depart from the compact. Before the close of the year 1770, the sternest patriots were obliged to consent that the agreements should be confined to the single article of tea, which should be excluded from the country so long as it should be liable to a duty.

In Massachusetts, various causes contributed to prevent the restoration of tranquillity. Just before the repeal of the duties, Governor Bernard left the province, having taken leave of the house in an angry speech; and his duties devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson. When the troops were in Boston, the house refused to transact any business while surrounded by a military force; and, to remove the complaint, he had directed the clerk to adjourn them to Cambridge. Against this they remonstrated, and, though they held their sessions there, did little else than carry on a spirited controversy with the lieutenant-governor, upon the right of the executive to prescribe the place as well as the time of their meeting; and for a long time he positively refused to permit them to sit at Boston.

While they were in this state of irritation, he gave them a new occasion, which they seized with avidity, to remonstrate and condemn. He removed the provincial troops from the castle, and admitted into it a body of British troops, under the command of Colonel Dalrymple. They declared that surrendering the government of this fortress to the military power, independent of the civil power of the colony, was such an essential alteration of the constitution as most justly to alarm a free people.

And before long another cause of dissatisfaction and controversy arose, which had a powerful influence in sundering the ties which had bound the colonists to the mother country. The governor, lieutenant-governor, and the judges of the superior court, had heretofore been paid out of the colonial treasury; and the house possessed the power of voting annually such salaries as the conduct of those officers might seem to merit. At the last session before the departure of Bernard, they not merely neglected but refused to vote him any pay. In 1771, Mr. Hutchinson was appointed governor, Mr. Oliver lieutenant governor; and the king assigned to them and to the judges salaries greater than they had before received, to be paid out of the national treasury. By this measure, those officers were made dependent on the crown, and released from all dependence on the people. And when it was known that they had rejected the money of the people, and consented to receive that of the king, the house was unsparing in its sarcastic criminations, and the colony resounded with one loud peal of indignation.

To enforce the acts of trade and prevent smuggling, armed vessels were stationed on the American coast. Of these, the *Gaspee*, commanded by Lieutenant Duddington, cruised in the waters of Rhode Island. This officer had incurred the resentment of the traders, and of all who navigated those waters, by his vigilance, and more by haughtily requiring that every vessel, that came within reach of his guns, should strike her flag. A Providence packet came near with colours flying; the *Gaspee* fired a shot, which was disregarded; she then made sail in chase, and the packet designedly led her into shoal water, where she grounded. In the night, she was boarded by a large party from Providence, set on fire, and burnt. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered to the person who should give information of any one concerned in the transaction; and a special court was constituted, by the king, to try the offenders. No information was obtained, although the actors were known to many; several persons were arrested and confined, that they might be examined as witnesses, but were set at liberty by the patriots; and the special court, after two long sessions, was dissolved without accomplishing

any thing. The creation of this court by the king, while competent courts of justice existed in the colony, was complained of as a violation of the charter, and an arbitrary exercise of unconstitutional power.

Samuel Adams has already been mentioned as one of the most resolute of the Boston patriots. He was educated for the ministry, but became a trader, though with small means; and, relinquishing that pursuit, accepted the office of collector of town taxes. In him were concentrated the virtues and peculiarities of the Puritans. He was tenacious of his opinions, indefatigable in pursuing his purposes, unambitious of wealth, or office, pious, and thoughtful; he associated with all, was intimate with few, suggested expedients, and guided when he seemed to follow. For many years, he was a representative to the general court; and most of the messages and remonstrances of the house—state papers scarcely equalled in the English language—were from his pen. He lamented the prospect of returning quiet, for he feared it would give England an opportunity to destroy American liberty. Visiting his brother patriot, James Warren, of Plymouth, they together concerted a plan to restore animation to the contest. This was to procure the appointment, in every town, of committees of correspondence. He returned to Boston, and immediately began, and by assiduous labour executed the plan. By the agency of these, resolutions and addresses, sometimes inflammatory and always spirited, were speedily conveyed through the country, arousing the attention of all, and exhorting to perseverance in the cause of liberty. This example was soon after followed in other colonies; and, in 1773, at the suggestion of the Virginia assembly, standing committees were appointed by the colonial legislatures, to correspond with each other. This institution, when more active opposition became necessary, was found extremely useful, and contributed, perhaps, as much as any other means, to accomplish the great object which its projectors aimed at.

In this year, Dr. Franklin obtained in London a number of original letters from Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, and others, to their correspondents in parliament. In these letters, the opposition in Massachusetts was stated to be confined to a few factious individuals, who had been emboldened by the weakness of the means used to restrain them. Measures more vigorous were recommended; and the ministry were urged to take from the people, and exercise themselves, the power of appointing councillors and all colonial magistrates. These letters he transmitted to Boston.

The source and occasion of the offensive proceedings of parliament were now disclosed. The passions of the people were highly inflamed, and the weight of popular indignation

fell upon the authors of these letters. The central committee of correspondence, at Boston, sent printed copies, enclosed in a spirited circular, to all the towns in the province; and the general court, in several resolutions, which were also published, animadverted with severity upon the misrepresentations and advice contained in the letters, thus increasing the irritation which their discovery and perusal had occasioned.

Meanwhile the tea of the East India Company, not finding a market in America, accumulated in their warehouses in England. Encouraged by the government, they resolved to export it on their own account, and appointed consignees in the various seaports in the colonies. Those in Philadelphia were induced, by the disapprobation expressed by the citizens, to decline their appointment. In New York, spirited handbills were circulated, menacing with ruin every person who should be concerned in vending tea, and requiring the pilots, at their peril, not to conduct ships, loaded with that article, into the harbour. Intimidated by these proceedings, the captains of the tea ships, bound to those ports, returned with their cargoes to England.

In Boston, inflammatory handbills were also circulated, and meetings held; but the consignees, being mostly relatives of the governor, and relying on his support, refused to decline their appointments. Their refusal enraged the citizens, and the community became agitated by the operation of highly-excited passions. Meetings were more frequently held. The committees of correspondence were every where active. The people of the country exhorted their brethren in Boston to act worthy of their former character, worthy of "Sons of Liberty," upon whose conduct, in the present emergency, every thing depended.

On the 29th of November, a ship laden with tea came into the harbour. Notifications were immediately posted up inviting every friend to his country to meet forthwith, and concert united resistance to the arbitrary measures of Britain. A crowded meeting was held, and a resolution adopted, "that the tea should not be landed, that no duty should be paid, and that it should be sent back in the same vessel." A watch was also organized to prevent it from being secretly brought on shore.

A short time was then allowed for the captain to prepare to return home with his cargo. Governor Hutchinson refused to grant him the requisite permission to pass the castle. Other vessels, laden with tea, arrived. The agitation increased, and on the 18th of December, the inhabitants of Boston and the adjoining towns assembled to determine what course should be pursued. At this important meeting, Josiah Quincy, desirous that the consequences of the measures to be adopted

should be first seriously contemplated, thus addressed his fellow-citizens :—

“It is not, Mr. Moderator, the spirit that vapours within these walls that will sustain us in the hour of need. The proceedings of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate our trials, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the value of the prize for which we contend ; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us ; we must be blind to that inveterate malice and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, abroad and in our bosom, —to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest, sharpest conflicts, or to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, and popular acclamations, will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue ; let us look to the end ; let us weigh and deliberate, before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw.”

In the evening, the question was put, “Do you abide by your former resolution to prevent the landing of the tea?” The vote was unanimous in the affirmative. Application was again made to the governor for a pass. After a short delay, his refusal was communicated to the assembly. Instantly a person, disguised like an Indian, gave the war-whoop from the gallery. At this signal, the people rushed out of the house and hastened to the wharves. About twenty persons, in the dress of Mohawks, boarded the vessels, and, protected by the crowd on shore, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and emptied their contents into the ocean. Their purpose accomplished, the multitude returned without tumult to their habitations.

These proceedings excited the anger of parliament and the displeasure of the British nation. Punishment, not a change of measures, was resolved upon. An act prohibiting the landing of any goods at Boston, and removing the custom-house and seat of government to Salem, was passed, and was to continue in force until compensation should be made for the tea destroyed ; another act was passed taking from the general court and giving to the crown the appointment of councillors, and vesting in the governor alone the appointment of all colonial officers ; and a third, declaring that, without leave in writing from the governor, no town meeting should be held in any town in Massachusetts, except for the choice of officers or representatives, and at such meetings “no other matter should be treated of.” And General Gage was made governor in the place of Mr. Hutchinson.

Intelligence of the Boston port bill occasioned a meeting of

the citizens of the town; they were sensible that "the most trying and terrible struggle" was indeed now approaching, but felt unawed by its terrors. They sought not to shelter themselves from the storm by submission, but became more resolute as it increased. They declared the act to be unjust and inhuman, and invited their brethren in the other colonies to unite with them in a general non-importation agreement.

A similar spirit pervaded and animated the whole country. Addresses from the adjacent towns, and from every part of the continent, were sent to the citizens of Boston, applauding their resolution, exhorting them to perseverance, and assuring them that they were considered as suffering in a common cause. In Virginia, the first day of June, when the law began to operate, was observed as a public and solemn fast. With devout feelings, the divine interposition was implored, in all the churches, to avert the evils of civil war, and to give to the people one heart and one mind, finally to oppose every invasion of their liberty.

The same day was observed, with similar solemnity, in most of the other colonies; and thus an opportunity was presented to the ministers of the gospel to dispense political instruction, to paint, in vivid colours, the sufferings of the citizens of Boston, and to warn their congregations, that, should Great Britain succeed in her schemes, the danger to their religious would be as great as to their civil privileges; that a tame submission to the will of parliament would inevitably be followed by bishops, tithes, test acts, and ecclesiastical tribunals.

An act of parliament, then recently passed, had excited the religious as well as political jealousy of the people. It so extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec as to include all the territory north of the Ohio, which was claimed by Virginia, and so much of what then belonged to Massachusetts as lay between the high lands in the north part of Maine and the St. Lawrence; it established a legislative body, for the province, to consist of a council only to be appointed by the king; Roman Catholics were permitted to hold a seat in it; Catholic priests were allowed to collect tithes from all of that faith; and in civil causes, trials by jury, in compliance with French usages and prejudices, were dispensed with.

The Boston port bill occasioned distress as severe as the ministry could have expected or intended. Nearly all were compelled to be idle. Many, by loss of employment, lost their sole means of support. In this extremity, contributions in money and provisions were forwarded to them from all the colonies, as proofs of sympathy in their distresses, and of approbation of their having met and manfully withstood the first shock of arbitrary power.

Gradually and constantly had the minds and feelings of the Americans been preparing for this important crisis. That enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the soul above all considerations of interest or danger had now become their ruling passion. The inhabitants of Salem spurned advantages to be derived from the punishment inflicted on a sister town, for its zeal in a sacred and common cause. "We must," said they, in a remonstrance to the governor, "be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes from the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

In June, the general court assembled at Salem; and among their first acts were, the recommendation of a Continental congress, which had been suggested by the committee of correspondence in Virginia, and the choice of delegates to attend it. While engaged, with closed doors, in this business, Governor Gage, who had received private intimation of their purposes, dissolved the court by a proclamation, which was read upon the steps. In all the other colonies, except Georgia, delegates were also chosen.

It would be unjust to those who were distinguished members of this congress, and continued active in the cause of liberty, to pass on without recording their names. John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; Samuel Adams and John Adams, of Massachusetts; Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; John Jay, of New York; William Livingston, of New Jersey; John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, and George Ross, of Pennsylvania; Cæsar Rodney and Thomas M'Kean, of Delaware; Samuel Chase, of Maryland; Peyton Randolph, Richard H. Lee, George Washington, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia; Henry Middleton and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, were members. The whole number was fifty-one.

On the fifth of September, 1774, this congress met at Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph was unanimously elected president, and Charles Thompson secretary. It was determined that each colony should have but one vote, whatever might be the number of its delegates; that they should sit with closed doors; and that all their transactions, except such as they should resolve to publish, should be kept secret.

Resolutions were then adopted, expressing the sympathy of congress in the sufferings of their countrymen in Massachusetts, and highly approving the wisdom and fortitude of their conduct. They declared that every person, who should accept of any commission under the act changing the form, of government in Massachusetts, "ought to be held in abhorrence, and considered as ^{the wicked} tool of that despotism which was preparing to rights which God, nature, and

compact, had given to America." They also resolved that the importation of goods from Great Britain should cease on the first day of the succeeding December, and all exports to that country on the tenth of September, 1775, unless American grievances should be sooner redressed. And feeling the inconsistency of dealing in slaves, while professing attachment to liberty, they also resolved that, after the first of December, they would not import any slave, nor purchase any imported by others. These resolutions possessed no legal force; but never were laws more faithfully observed.

In other resolutions, they enumerated certain rights, which, as men and English subjects, "they claimed, demanded, and insisted on." These rights were, in most respects, the same as those claimed by the colonial assemblies. Going farther than some of them, the congress claimed for them the exclusive right of internal legislation; and not so far as others, it yielded to parliament the right to regulate external commerce. The several acts of parliament, violating the rights claimed, were then enumerated, and the repeal of them declared to be "essentially necessary to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." Addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of Canada, and to their constituents, were prepared and published; and an affectionate petition to the king was agreed on.

In these able and important state papers, the claims, principles, and feelings, of their constituents are clearly and eloquently set forth. They glow with the love of liberty; they display a determination, too firm to be shaken, to defend and preserve it at every hazard; they contain the strongest professions of attachment to the mother country, and of loyalty to the king. A desire of independence is expressly disavowed. "Place us," says the congress, "in the situation we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." "We ask," say they in their petition, "but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain."

These papers, going forth to the world, made the cause of the colonists known throughout Europe, and conciliated those who had embraced liberal principles in politics, or felt displeasure at the pride and haughtiness of Britain. Their tone of manly energy, and the knowledge they displayed of political science, excited universal applause and admiration.

"When your lordships," said Mr. Pitt, in the British senate, "have perused the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom,

with which the Americans have acted,—you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favourite study; and in the celebrated writings of antiquity I have often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow, that in the master states of the world, I know not the people nor the senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general congress at Philadelphia. I trust that it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be futile."

The resolve of the congress to sit with closed doors has withheld from the historian the power of describing the deportment and eloquence of the members, and of assigning to each that rank among those fearless patriots which his talents and zeal entitled him to hold. When only glimpses can be afforded, they will not therefore be considered beneath the dignity of history. Among the members not named was Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania. He afterward deserted the cause, and went to England, where he published a work on the "American Rebellion." In speaking of this congress, he says of Samuel Adams, "He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his object. It was this man, who, by his superior application, managed at once the factions in congress at Philadelphia, and the factions of New England." Of John Adams it is related, that, when advised by a friend not to accept of the appointment of delegate, as Great Britain was determined to subdue the colonies, and her power was irresistible, he replied that, "as to his fate, the die was cast; the Rubicon was passed; sink or swim, live or die,—to survive or perish with his country was his unalterable resolution." When Patrick Henry returned home, he was asked whom he thought the greatest man in the congress. "If you speak of eloquence," he replied, not thinking what rank others might assign to himself, "Mr. Rutledge is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man." It is known that John Adams and Patrick Henry were then of opinion that the contest must ultimately be decided by force; and that Washington and Lee thought that the measures then adopted would obtain a redress of grievances.

In America, the proceedings of congress were read with enthusiasm and veneration. Their reasonings confirmed the conviction, strongly felt by nearly the whole people, of the perfect justice of their cause. In the address to themselves, they were admonished "to extend their views to mournful events,

and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency." Great efforts were consequently made to provide arms and all the munitions of war. Independent companies were formed; voluntary trainings were frequent; the old and the young, the rich and the poor, devoted their hours of amusement and of leisure to exercise calculated to fit them to act a part in the anticipated conflict. The country was alive with the bustle of preparation, and in every countenance could be read the expectation of important transactions, in which all must participate.

Complete unanimity, however, did not exist. Some of the late emigrants from England, the most of those who held offices by her appointment, many whose timidity magnified her power, clung to her authority, and, as the crisis approached, declared themselves her adherents. These were denominated Tories; the friends of liberty, whigs—names by which the advocates of arbitrary power, and the friends of constitutional liberty, were distinguished in England.

General Gage, who had been recently appointed governor of Massachusetts, withdrew, from other posts on the continent, several regiments of troops, and encamped them on the Common, in Boston. He afterwards erected fortifications on the Neck, a narrow isthmus which unites the town with the main land; and on the night of the first of September, he seized the powder deposited in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge.

The people, meanwhile, were not idle. They appointed delegates to a provincial congress, which assembled in the beginning of October. Mr. Hancock was chosen president; and the delegates resolved, that, for the defence of the province, a military force, to consist of one fourth of the militia, should be organized and stand ready to march at a minute's warning; that money should be raised to purchase military stores; and they appointed a committee of supplies, and a committee of safety, to sit during the recess.

The most southern provinces, particularly Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, displayed the same love of liberty and determined to resist; provincial congresses were convened, committees appointed, and resolutions passed, designed and adapted to animate those who, in Massachusetts, stood in the post of danger, and to excite in all hearts that devotion to country which is alone capable of sustaining a people in an arduous struggle with a superior foe.

CHAPTER XIX.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

IN the parliament of Great Britain, American affairs came on to be discussed in the beginning of the year 1775. At the opening of the session, in the preceding November, the king had indicated, with sufficient clearness, his own feelings, by announcing that "a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws still unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced in other colonies; and unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdoms by unlawful combinations." Addresses to the king, echoing the sentiments of the speech, were, after long and spirited debates, agreed to in both houses.

Soon afterwards, the proceedings of the congress at Philadelphia arrived in England. Mr. Pitt, who had been created Lord Chatham, and had long retired from public life, now resumed his seat in the house of lords, and moved an address to the king, praying him, in order to open the way to a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, to give orders to General Gage to remove the troops from Boston; and he supported his motion by one of his most eloquent speeches. It was opposed by the ministry, and rejected by a large majority.

He made, however, another effort. He presented a bill setting forth, in detail, his plan for "settling the troubles in the colonies," the principal features of which were, asserting the supreme legislative authority of parliament, and relinquishing in effect the right of taxation. Had it passed, it would not, probably, have satisfied the colonies. Lord Sandwich moved that it should be immediately "rejected with the contempt it deserved. I cannot believe," said he, "that it is the production of a British pen. I fancy I have in my eye" (turning to Dr. Franklin, who was in the lobby) "the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country ever knew." Lord Chatham replied that the plan was entirely his own; and this declaration he felt the more bound to make, because it had been so severely censured. "But," said he, "if I were the first minister of this country, I should not be ashamed of calling publicly to my assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to; one whom all

Europe holds in estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranks with our Newtons and Boyles; who is an honour, not to the English nation only, but to human nature. The bill was rejected at the first reading, the lords not being disposed even to consider it.

The principal trading and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, which were suffering from the effects of the non-importation agreements, poured in their petitions in favour of conciliation with the colonies; the Quakers appealed to parliament in behalf of their brethren of Nantucket; Franklin, Bollen, and Lee, requested to be heard at the bar of the house before decisive measures were adopted; but the ministry, before they heard, proceeded at once to condemn and to punish. It is now believed that they acted according to the explicit commands of the king; and the vacillation apparent in the councils of the nation at this period must doubtless be attributed to difference of opinion, and feelings between him and them. They introduced a bill confining the trade of the colonies of New England to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and prohibiting those colonies from fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland; and soon after they introduced another, subjecting the trade of all the colonies represented in the late congress, except New York and North Carolina, to the same restriction. Why North Carolina was excepted is not known. That favour was extended to New York, because the assembly of that colony, less patriotic than the people, had refused to send delegates to the congress,—those who went being chosen at county meetings,—and had afterwards, by a small majority, refused to accede to the non-importation agreements proposed by that body.

At the same session, Lord North, to the surprise of many of the supporters of parliamentary supremacy, proposed his conciliatory plan. It provided that if any colony would engage to contribute a sum satisfactory to his majesty, for the common defence, the parliament would forbear to tax that colony so long as the contribution should be punctually paid. At first, some of his supporters, believing that it yielded too much, opposed it; but an intimation being given that the object of the plan was to weaken the colonies by dividing them, it was adopted by the usual majority. Appropriations were afterwards made for enlarging the naval and military force; and several ships of the line and ten thousand troops were sent to America.

Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley brought forward plans of conciliation; but both were rejected. The debates on these several questions were long, able, and occasionally ill tempered and violent. In favour of measures of coercion and punishment, it was urged, that the colonists had lately evinced a

spirit of independence, and it was necessary to crush this spirit in its birth; that they began by denying the right of parliament to impose internal taxes, then to impose either internal or external taxes, and now to legislate for them in any case, whatsoever; that as government yielded they had advanced, at every surrender higher claims had been asserted, and a crisis had now arrived when the only question was, "Shall an effort be made to enforce obedience, or shall all power over them be relinquished for ever?" that it would be disgraceful to Englishmen to permit the empire to be dismembered without a struggle; that it was just that they should pay the taxes imposed, as they now contributed less in proportion to their wealth than the inhabitants of Great Britain; that the measures proposed were neither unjust nor cruel, as they were legitimate means to enforce obedience to just laws; that their very severity made them expedient, as the greater the suffering, the sooner would it compel submission; that the Americans were incited to resistance by factious partisans at home, were cowardly, spiritless, constitutionally feeble, incapable of discipline, and nothing but stern resolution and united efforts were necessary to insure success.

The speakers on the other side contended, that the course pursued towards the colonies, since the close of the war with France, was inconsistent with the free principles of the English constitution; that the conduct of the Americans was such as ought to be expected from the descendants of Englishmen, and not of a nature to be visited with vindictive punishment; that, by their enterprise, industry, and bravery, they had contributed largely to the wealth and glory of the nation; that they still possessed loyalty to the king, and, until parliament began to tax them, displayed devoted loyalty in all their actions; that the measures proposed were cruel, because to exclude the people of New England from the fisheries would be to deprive many of the means of living, and unjust, because the innocent were involved in suffering with the guilty; that they were impolitic, because their effect would be to diminish the commerce of England, and deprive the debtors of English merchants of the ability to pay; because to conquer the country would be to ruin it, to cut down the tree which had yielded golden fruit; and because an opportunity would be given to their hereditary rival to interfere in a family quarrel, effect the dismemberment of the empire, and glory in the national disgrace.

At the close of the last of the several debates, a young nobleman of the highest rank, who had never before spoken, took the opportunity to utter his sentiments on so important a question. "He disclaimed every idea of policy and of right internally to tax America. He disavowed the whole system. It

was commenced in iniquity, pursued in resentment, and could terminate in nothing but blood."

In the house of commons, upon the several questions decided, the votes on the ministerial side varied from 304 to 188; on that of the whigs or opposition, from 106 to 58, about three to one. In the house of lords, the proportion in favour of ministers was greater.

In America, the friends of liberty continued to be watchful and active. To be prepared for the worst, they gathered from all quarters arms and military stores. The people around Boston withheld from the royalists such articles as were needed for the support of the troops; and the merchants of New York and Philadelphia refused to supply them. When intelligence was received of the proceedings in parliament, many of the inhabitants of Boston quitted it, and sought a residence in the country.

A new Provincial congress had been elected in Massachusetts, and met on the 1st of February. They directed the committee of supplies "to purchase all the powder they could, and also all kinds of warlike stores, sufficient for an army of fifteen thousand men." For such as had been, or should be, purchased, Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, was appointed one of the places of deposit. In each of the towns of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Roxbury, two men were stationed to watch the movements of the troops in Boston; expresses were kept in readiness to convey intelligence into the country; and private signals were agreed on.

Samuel Adams and John Hancock had retired to Lexington. A "daughter of liberty," the wife of a royalist, sent privately a message to the former that a body of troops would leave Boston in a few days. On the 18th of April, a number of British officers placed themselves on the various routes to Concord to intercept such expresses as the whigs might send into the country. Late in the evening, a body of eight hundred troops began their march towards Concord. Expresses were immediately despatched; several were intercepted; but one, sent by Dr. Warren, who remained in Boston, succeeded in passing the officers. The ringing of bells and the firing of signal guns brought the minute-men together. Early next morning, those of Lexington assembled on the green near the meeting-house. A few minutes afterwards, the advanced body of the regulars approached within musket-shot. Major Pitcairn, riding forward, exclaimed, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." Not being instantly obeyed, he discharged his pistol, and ordered his men to fire. They fired, and killed several. The militia dispersed; but the firing continued. In the whole, eight were killed, some of whom were shot in their concealment behind the fences.

The detachment proceeded to Concord. The minute-men of that town had also assembled; but, being few in number, they retired on the approach of the regulars. These entered the town, and destroyed the provisions and stores. The minute-men were reinforced, and advanced again towards the regulars. A skirmish ensued, in which Captain Davis, of Acton, was killed. The British troops were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them several killed and wounded.

The whole country was now in arms, and the troops retreated with precipitation. The militia not only pressed upon their rear, but placed themselves singly behind trees and stone walls, and, from these secure coverts, fired upon them as they passed. At Lexington, they met a reinforcement under Lord Percy, which General Gage had despatched on receiving information of the occurrences there in the morning.

After resting a moment, the whole body proceeded towards Boston. In their progress they were more and more harassed by the provincials, whose number hourly increased, and who became in proportion more adventurous. Having an intimate knowledge of all the roads, they could pursue with less fatigue, and meet the enemy unexpectedly at the various windings; and, being all experienced marksmen, their shots seldom failed of effect. At sunset, the regulars, almost overcome with fatigue, passed along Charlestown Neck, and found on Bunker's Hill a place of security and repose.

In this engagement, sixty-five of the royal forces were killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials, fifty were killed, thirty-four were wounded, and four were missing. The killed were lamented and honoured as the first martyrs in the cause of liberty. In the various sections of country from which they came, hatred of Great Britain took still deeper root; and New England, connected more than any other part of the world, as one great family, by the closest intimacy of all the inhabitants, universally felt the deprivation with a mixed feeling of sorrow and rage.

Intelligence of the battle of Lexington spread rapidly through Massachusetts and the adjoining provinces. The farmer left his plough in the furrow, the mechanic dropped the utensil in his hand, and, seizing their arms, all hastened to the environs of Boston. In a few days, a large army was assembled, which, under the command of General Ward, of Massachusetts, and General Putnam, of Connecticut, closely invested the town, and alarmed General Gage for the safety of his garrison.

In the remoter provinces, the intelligence was considered of solemn and alarming import. The great drama was opened, and the part which each should take must immediately be

chosen. By many a resort to arms had never been anticipated. To them the decision was more painful; but in all the colonies it had the effect to inflame the determined, and to arouse in others the latent love of liberty. In New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the people, assembling, prohibited the departure of vessels to places friendly to the royal cause; and no commander dared to sail. In New Jersey, they took possession of the money, then large in amount, in the public treasury. In Maryland and South Carolina, the royal magazines were forcibly entered, and their contents seized for the use of the whigs.

The assembly of Pennsylvania was at that time in session. On the 6th of May, they elected Dr. Franklin, who returned on the 5th from England, an additional deputy to the next Continental congress. John Penn, one of the proprietors, was then governor. He was supposed to be not unfriendly to the American cause; but, in obedience to instructions, he laid before them the conciliatory plan of Lord North, and observed to them that, "as they were the first assembly to whom it had been communicated, they would deservedly be revered by the latest posterity, if by any means they could be instrumental in restoring public tranquillity, and rescuing both countries from the horrors of a civil war." They replied, that "they chose to leave the character of the plan to be determined by the governor's good sense; but, if it were unexceptionable, they should esteem it dishonourable to adopt it, without the advice and consent of their sister colonies, who, united by just motives and mutual faith, were guided by general councils."

Connecticut had poured forth her full proportion of hardy yeomanry to man the lines around Boston; but several, who remained at home, conceived the project of surprising Ticonderoga, a fortified post on the western shore of Lake Champlain, and commanding the entrance into Canada. They communicated their design to Colonel Ethan Allen, of Vermont, who, upon their arrival at Castleton with forty men, met them there at the head of two hundred and thirty Green Mountain boys. The next day, Captain Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, who, upon the first alarm, had hastened to Boston, arrived from that place, having conceived the same project, and been authorized, by the committee of safety in Massachusetts, to undertake it.

Allen and Arnold, at the head of the Green Mountain boys, hastened to Ticonderoga, and the remainder of the party to Skeneborough. On the night of the 9th of May, about eighty—all that the boats could carry—crossed the lake, and, at dawn of day, landed near the fortress. They advanced to the gateway. A sentinel snapped his fusée at Colonel

retreated. The Americans, following, found the commander in bed. Colonel Allen demanded the surrender of the fort. "By what authority do you demand it?" "In the name," replied Allen, "of the great Jehovah and the Continental congress." The British officer, having but fifty men, saw that resistance would be in vain, and agreed to surrender.

When the remainder of the party arrived, they were despatched, under Colonel Seth Warner, to take possession of Crown Point; and Arnold, hastily manning a schooner, sailed to capture a sloop-of-war lying at the outlet of the lake. These two expeditions, as well as that against Skeensborough, were successful; and thus was obtained, without bloodshed, the command of those important posts, together with more than one hundred pieces of cannon, and other munitions of war. The unexpected news of this brilliant success imparted higher courage and animation to the Americans.

Most of the militia, who had repaired to Boston, returned soon after to their homes; but a sufficient number remained, posted near the Neck, to prevent the British from leaving the town by land. Between detachments from these and parties of regulars, who were sent to collect forage on the islands in the harbour, frequent skirmishes took place, in most of which the Americans were successful.

In the beginning of June, several transports, filled with troops, commanded by Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, arrived from England, and General Gage began to act with more decision and vigour. He issued a proclamation, declaring those in arms, and all who aided them, rebels and traitors, and threatened to punish them as such, unless they immediately returned to their peaceful occupations. He promised his majesty's pardon to all who should in this manner give proof of their repentance and amendment, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose crimes, he alleged, were too flagitious to admit of pardon.

This proclamation, and the arrival of the troops, far from dismaying, aroused the people to greater activity and watchfulness. Again the militia assembled and surrounded Boston. Unwilling to endure the inconvenience and disgrace of this confinement, General Gage made preparation to penetrate with a portion of his army, into the country. To prevent this, the provincial generals resolved to occupy Bunker's Hill, an eminence in Charlestown, situated on a peninsula that approaches near to Boston.

On the evening of the 16th of June, a thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, of Massachusetts, Colonel Stark, of New Hampshire, and Captain Knowlton, from Maine, were despatched on this service. They were sent to Breed's Hill, which was nearer to

the water and to Boston than Bunker's. At twelve o'clock, they began to throw up intrenchments, and by dawn of day had completed a redoubt eight rods square. As soon as they were discovered, they were fired upon from a ship-of-war and several floating batteries lying near, and from a fortification in Boston opposite the redoubt. The Americans, nevertheless, encouraged by General Putnam, who often visited them on the hill, continued to labour until they had finished a slight breastwork extending from the redoubt eastward to the water; and in the morning they received a reinforcement of five hundred men.

The temerity of the provincials astonished and incensed General Gage; and he determined to drive them immediately from their position. About noon, a body of three thousand regulars, commanded by General Howe, left Boston in boats, and landed in Charlestown, at the extreme point of the peninsula. Generals Clinton and Burgoyne took their station on an eminence in Boston, commanding a distinct view of the hill. The spires of the churches, the roofs of the houses, and all the heights in the neighbourhood, were covered with people, waiting, in dreadful anxiety, to witness the approaching battle.

The regulars, forming at the place of landing, marched slowly up the hill, halting frequently to allow time to the artillery to demolish the works. While advancing, the village of Charlestown, containing about four hundred houses, was set on fire by order of General Gage. The flames ascended to a lofty height, presenting a sublime and magnificent spectacle. The Americans reserved their fire until the British were within ten rods of the redoubt; then, taking a steady aim, they began a furious discharge. Entire ranks of the assailants fell. The enemy halted, and returned the fire; but that from the redoubt continuing incessant, and doing great execution, they retreated in haste and disorder down the hill, some even taking refuge in their boats.

The officers were seen running hither and thither, collecting, arranging, and addressing, their men, who were at length induced again to ascend the hill. The Americans now reserved their fire until the enemy had approached even nearer than before, when a tremendous volley was at once poured upon them. Terrified by the carnage around them, they again retreated with precipitation; and such was the panic, that General Howe was left almost alone on the hill side, his troops having deserted him, and nearly every officer around him being killed.

At this moment, General Clinton, who had observed from Boston the progress of the battle, feeling that British honour was at stake, hastened with a reinforcement to the assistance of his

countrymen. By his exertions, the troops were a third time rallied, and were compelled by the officers, who marched behind them with drawn swords, to advance again towards the Americans. The fire from the ships and batteries was redoubled, and a few pieces of cannon had been so placed as to rake the interior of the breastwork from end to end.

The provincials, having expended their ammunition, awaited in silence the approach of the regulars. The latter entered the redoubt. The former, having no bayonets, defended themselves, for a short time, with the butt-ends of their muskets. From this unequal contest they were soon compelled to retire. As they retreated over Charlestown Neck, the fire from the floating batteries was incessant; but, providentially, a few only were killed. The enemy had sustained too much injury to think of pursuit.

In this desperate and bloody conflict, the royal forces consisted, as has been stated, of three thousand men, and the provincials of but fifteen hundred. Of the former, one thousand and fifty-four were killed and wounded; of the latter, four hundred and fifty-three. This disparity of loss, the steadiness and bravery displayed by their recent, undisciplined levies, occasioned among the Americans the highest exultation, and, in their view, more than counterbalanced the loss of position.—“If this is a British victory, how many such victories,” they triumphantly asked, “can their army achieve without ruin?”

But deep and heart-felt sorrow was intermingled with their rejoicings. Among the killed was Doctor Warren, a patriot, who, at an early period, had espoused with warmth the cause of freedom; who had displayed great intrepidity in several skirmishes; had four days before been elected major-general; and had, on the fatal day, hastened to the field of battle, to serve his country as a volunteer. For his many virtues, his elegant manners, his generous devotion to his country, his high attainments in political science, he was beloved and respected by his republican associates; and to him their affections pointed as a future leader, in a cause dear to their hearts, and intimately connected with their glory.

In the midst of these military transactions, a Continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. It comprised delegates from twelve colonies, all of whom were animated with a determined spirit of opposition to parliamentary taxation. A majority, however, had not yet formed the hardy resolution to separate from the mother country, and aim at independence. The measures partook of the opposite feelings of the members. Mr. Hancock, the proscribed patriot, was chosen president; they resolved that another humble petition for redress of grievances should be presented to the king; but they also re-

solved that means of defence should be immediately prepared, and proceeded to the choice of officers to command their united forces.

To induce the friends of liberty in the southern provinces to embark more warmly in the cause of resistance, the northern delegates determined to give their suffrages, for a commander-in-chief, to a person residing in that quarter. Fortunately, one was found eminently qualified for the office. By unanimous vote of the congress, GEORGE WASHINGTON, then present as delegate from Virginia, was elected. He had served, with high reputation, in the late war with France; was distinguished in his native province for his military knowledge, his great wealth, the dignity of his deportment, his unsuspected integrity, and his ardent attachment to the interests of his country.

The president, addressing him in his seat, announced to him the choice which the congress had made. Washington declared his acceptance with a diffidence which gave to his great talents a brighter lustre, and assured congress that, as no pecuniary compensation could have tempted him to accept the office, at the sacrifice of his domestic ease and happiness, he would receive no pay, and would only ask the remuneration of his expenses. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putman, were then chosen major-generals, and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general. Lee had lately held the office of colonel, and Gates that of major, in the British army.

Congress also resolved that, for defraying the expenses which might be incurred, bills of credit, or paper money, to the amount of three millions of dollars, should be issued, and pledged the colonies for their redemption. A solemn and dignified declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was prepared to be published to the army in orders, and to the people from the pulpit. After particularising the aggressions of Great Britain, with the energy of men feeling unmerited injury, they exclaim—

“But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it was chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as it increases ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years, incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne, as suppli-

cants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

"We are now reduced to the condition of choosing an unconditional submission to the will of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

"Our cause is just; our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as a signal instance of the divine favour towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed the means of defending ourselves.

"With hearts fortified by these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, DECLARE, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties, being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen, rather than live slaves."

Early in May, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts resolved that General Gage had utterly disqualified himself to act as governor of the colony, and that, therefore, no obedience was due to him. Afterwards, they addressed a letter to the Continental Congress, setting forth the difficulties arising from the want of a regular government, and requesting explicit advice in what way they should remedy the evil. In reply, a resolution was adopted, declaring that no obedience was due to the act of parliament altering the charter of Massachusetts, nor to a governor who should endeavour to subvert it; and recommending that the Provincial Congress, conforming as near as might be to the spirit and substance of the charter, should summon representatives from the several towns; that they, when met, should choose a council, and that these two bodies should exercise the powers of government until a governor appointed by the king would consent to act according to the charter. This advice was followed; the people discovered that they could manage their affairs without the aid of a royal governor; and many beheld, with secret pleasure, the

legal ties giving way which connected Great Britain with her colonies.

The congress continued in session, performing such duties as usually devolve on the executive of a nation; appointing officers, providing means, devising plans, and giving orders.—They established a post-office department, and placed at the head of it Dr. Franklin, who held the same office under the king, and had been removed in 1774. They chose a committee on Indian affairs, and directed a "talk" to be addressed to the several tribes, stating the origin of the "family quarrel," and urging them to remain neutral in the contest. The Indians, however, were so fond of war, that, being invited by the British, they joined their standard.

Soon after his election, General Washington accompanied by General Lee and several other officers, set out for the camp at Cambridge. In every place through which he passed he received the highest honours. At New York, the Provincial congress, in a respectful address, declared their confidence in his abilities and virtue, and feeling, in their devotion to liberty, a just jealousy of military power, expressed the fullest assurance that, when the contest was ended, "he would re-assume the character of our worthiest citizen." A committee from the Provincial congress of Massachusetts met him at Springfield, and conducted him to head-quarters, where he was received by another committee with all the ceremonies due to his station.

He found the army, consisting of fourteen thousand men, posted on the heights around Boston, forming a line which extended from Roxbury on the right to the River Mystic on the left—a distance of twelve miles. The troops were ardently devoted to the cause of liberty, but destitute of discipline, averse to subordination, without powder, without tents, and without most of the conveniencies usually provided for regular armies.

With the assistance of General Gates, he introduced some degree of regularity and system. Several barrels of powder were obtained from New Jersey; and Captain Manly, commander of the privateer *Lee*, captured an ordnance ship, containing arms, ammunition, and a complete assortment of such working tools as were most wanted in the American camp. This providential capture was followed by others, which supplied the most pressing wants of the army, enabled it to continue, through the year, the blockade of Boston, and contributed greatly to distress the enemy, for whose use the cargoes were destined.

Events occurring, this year, in the southern colonies, still further weakened the attachment of the people to Great Britain. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore, the governor, seized, by

night, some powder belonging to the colony, and conveyed it on board a British ship in James River. Intelligence of this transaction reaching Patrick Henry, he placed himself at the head of the independent companies in his vicinity, and marched towards the seat of government, with the avowed purpose of obtaining, by force, restitution of the powder, or its value. He was met by a messenger, who paid him the value of the powder, when he and the militia returned to their homes.

Alarmed by this display of spirit and patriotism, Lord Dunmore fortified his palace. From this castle he issued a proclamation charging Henry and his associates with rebellious practices, which offended the people, who highly approved their conduct. Other causes increasing the popular ferment, he quitted his palace, and repaired to a ship-of-war then lying at Yorktown.

In November, he issued another proclamation, offering freedom to those slaves belonging to rebel masters, who should join his Majesty's troops at Yorktown. Several hundred, in consequence, repaired to that place. A body of militia immediately assembled, and, while posted near the city, were attacked, with great bravery, by the regulars, royalists, and negroes. The militia, repelling the attack with equal bravery, gained a decisive victory. Lord Dunmore then evacuated the city, and followed by his white and black forces, sought refuge on board the ships of his majesty. Soon after, Norfolk, set on fire by his order, was mostly consumed, and its destruction was completed by the provincials, to prevent the enemy from deriving supplies from that quarter.

The governor of North Carolina, following the example of Lord Dunmore, fortified his palace at Newbern. This caused a commotion among the people, which induced him to retire on board a ship in the harbour. While there, he made zealous exertions to organize a party in favour of the royal cause: and a band of Scotch Highlanders, settled in the interior country, listened to his persuasions. On their march to the sea-coast, they were met by a party of militia, who attacked and dispersed them. This early victory secured the predominance of the whigs, and crushed the hopes and spirits of the Tories.

South Carolina had always, with great unanimity and zeal, resisted parliamentary taxation; and soon after the battle of Lexington, the governor, Lord William Campbell, apprehensive of danger to his person, retired from the province. In July, Georgia chose delegates to the Continental congress, increasing to THIRTEEN the number of the UNITED COLONIES.

The province of New York contained many warm advocates for freedom; but its capital had so long been the headquarters of the British army in America, that many of the

principal inhabitants, having contracted intimate relations with British officers, had become devoted to the royal cause. The assembly, acting under their influence, declined to choose delegates to the Continental congress held in May, 1775; but the people, a majority of whom were actuated by different feelings, elected a Provincial congress, by whom those delegates were chosen.

When intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached the city, Captain Sears, an active and intrepid leader of the "sons of liberty," took effectual measures to prevent vessels bound to ports in America where the royal cause prevailed, from sailing. An association was formed, consisting of one thousand of the principal inhabitants, who bound themselves to assist in carrying into execution whatever measure might be recommended, by the Continental congress, to prevent the execution of the oppressive acts of the British parliament.

The ministry, desirous of retaining in obedience this important colony, appointed Mr. Tryon to be governor over it. He had before filled the same office; was a man of address, and greatly beloved by the people. He came fully empowered to gain adherents by dispensing presents and money at his discretion. The success of his intrigues alarmed congress, who, having particular reference to him, recommended that "all persons whose going at large might endanger the liberties of America, should be arrested and secured." Gaining early intelligence of this, he also sought refuge on board a ship in the harbour.

Although the autumn of 1775 was not distinguished by any brilliant exploit, yet the time of congress and of the commander-in-chief was not unprofitably employed. Constant attention was paid to the discipline of the troops; arrangements were made to obtain a supply of military stores; the building and equipment of a naval force was commenced; two expeditions were organized and despatched against Canada, one by the way of Lake Champlain, the other of the River Kennebec; and General Lee, with twelve hundred volunteers from Connecticut, was directed to proceed to New York, and, with the aid of the inhabitants, fortify the city and the high lands.

The abolition of all legal authority in the colonies was an evil for which, though less than had been anticipated, it was yet expedient to provide a remedy. New Hampshire applied to congress for advice on this subject. A favourable opportunity was thus presented to the zealous patriots in congress, to propose a remedy for the evil, which should, at the same time, exhibit in practice the fundamental principle of their political creed, that all legitimate authority must be derived from the people; and should also prepare the way for their darling object—a declaration of independence.

A resolution was introduced, recommending that a convention of representatives, freely elected by the people of that colony, should be called, for the purpose of establishing such a form of government as they might deem proper. It was warmly opposed by those members who were yet desirous of an accommodation with the mother country. An amendment being made, providing that the government established should continue in force no longer than the existing contest with Great Britain, the resolution passed. Representatives were accordingly chosen, who, on the 5th of January, 1776, adopted a written constitution, acknowledging no source of power but the people. In other colonies, the same course was soon afterwards pursued.

A transaction displaying the vindictive feelings of the British occurred in October. The ministry had issued orders to officers of the navy, to proceed as in the case of actual rebellion against such colonial sea-ports accessible to ships-of-war as should attempt to seize any public magazines of arms or other stores. Falmouth, a flourishing town in that part of Massachusetts now the state of Maine, having, in compliance with a resolve of the Provincial congress, prevented some torries from sending their property, consisting of masts suitable for the navy, out of the country, its destruction, under colour of these orders, was resolved on. Captain Mowatt, with four ships, appeared before the place, and gave notice to the inhabitants that they must leave it in two hours, as he had been ordered to destroy it. They sought by negotiation to avert their ruin, but were told that their town could be saved from destruction only by their delivering up all their arms and ammunition, engaging not to unite with their countrymen in any opposition to Great Britain, and surrendering four of their principal citizens as hostages. They asked time to give an answer, and he allowed them until the next morning. The night was spent, not in deliberation, but in removing their families and effects. Not receiving any answer, Captain Mowatt, the next day, set the town on fire, and more than four hundred dwelling-houses and stores were consumed. It was afterwards rebuilt, and its name changed to Portland.

This wanton act of devastation served to exasperate, rather than to intimidate, the people. It probably accelerated the passage, by the Provincial congress of Massachusetts, of an act "for encouraging the fitting out of armed vessels to defend the sea-coast of America, and the erecting a court to try and condemn all vessels that shall be found infesting the same." Under such guise did the shrewd politicians of the time, while professing allegiance to Great Britain, cover the grant of a license to privateers to cruise against and capture British vessels. Several were fitted out, and were successful,

As the year 1775 drew near to a close, the condition of the army, employed in the blockade of Boston, engaged the attention of congress. A speedy adjustment of the dispute being at first expected, the men had been enlisted to serve only until the 1st of January. No prospect now appeared of an immediate accommodation. It was therefore resolved to form a new army, to consist of twenty thousand men, and to be raised, as far as practicable, from the troops then in service. Unfortunately, it was determined that the enlistments should be made for one year only—an error the consequences of which were afterwards very severely felt.

It was supposed that most of those whom patriotism had impelled to join the army, would continue in the service of their country; but, when the experiment was made, it was found that their ardour had considerably abated. The blockade of Boston presented no opportunity of acquiring glory, by deeds of noble daring; the fatiguing duties of the camp wore upon their spirits, affected their health, and produced an unconquerable longing to revisit their homes. Notwithstanding the great exertions of General Washington, no more than half the estimated number had been enlisted at the close of the year.

The people and the troops, supposing the army to be stronger than it was, expressed great dissatisfaction at the inactivity of the commander-in-chief, which some imputed to dishonourable motives. An attack upon Boston was loudly demanded. Washington three times proposed it to a council of war; but in every instance the decision was unanimous against it. At the last time, however, the council recommended that the town should be more closely invested. On the evening of the 4th of March, 1776, the attention of the enemy being diverted, by a brisk cannonade, to a different quarter, a party of troops, under the command of General Thomas, took possession, in silence, of Dorchester Heights, and, with almost incredible industry, erected, before morning, a line of fortifications which commanded the harbour and the town.

The view of these works, raised like an exhalation from the earth, excited the astonishment of General Howe, who, on the resignation of General Gage, had been appointed commander-in-chief. He saw that he must immediately dislodge the Americans or evacuate the town. The next day, he ordered three thousand men to embark in boats, and proceeded, by way of Castle Island, to attack the works on the heights. A furious storm dispersed them; the fortifications, in the mean time, were rendered too strong to be forced; and General Howe was compelled to seek safety in an immediate departure from Boston.

Of the determination of the enemy to evacuate the town,

General Washington was soon apprised. The event being certain, he did not wish by an attack to hasten it, as the fortifications at New York, to which place he presumed they would repair, were not in sufficient forwardness to protect it.

The embarkation was made on the 17th of March: a few days after, the whole fleet set sail, and the American army hastened, by divisions, to New York.

The acquisition of this important town occasioned great and general rejoicing. The thanks of congress were voted to General Washington and his troops, for their wise and spirited conduct; and a medal of gold was ordered to be struck in commemoration of the event. The British fleet, instead of conveying the troops to New York, steered for Halifax, having on board a large number of tories and their baggage.

CHAPTER XX.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA.

It has been already stated, that two detachments were despatched against Canada. The command of that which was to proceed by way of Lake Champlain, was given to General Schuyler, of New York. The number of troops to be employed was fixed at three thousand; and they were to be drawn from New York and New England. Governor Carleton, gaining intelligence of the project, despatched about eight hundred men to strengthen the works at St. Johns, on the River Sorel—a position commanding the usual entrance into Canada.

Brigadier-General Montgomery, a young officer of brilliant talents, and ambitious of glory, was ordered to proceed in advance, with the troops, then in readiness, and attack this important position, before it had been made too strong to be taken. When commencing his career, the glory and fate of Wolfe were present to his thoughts, and to his wife his parting words were, "You shall never blush for your Montgomery." General Schuyler soon followed; and, on arriving at Isle aux Noix, in the vicinity of the British works, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, exhorting them to join their brethren in the cause of freedom, and declaring that the American army came as friends of the inhabitants, and as enemies only of the British garrisons.

The fortifications at St. Johns being found stronger than was anticipated, General Schuyler returned to Albany to hasten the departure of the remaining troops, artillery, and munitions of war. He was prevented, by a severe illness, from again join-

ing the army, and the chief command devolved upon Montgomery. On receiving a reinforcement, he invested St. Johns; but, being yet almost destitute of battering cannon and of powder, he made no progress in the siege; and the soldiers, carrying with them into the field that attachment to liberty and equality which gave birth to the contest, displayed such utter aversion to discipline and subordination, as increased, in a great degree, his difficulties and vexations.

Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had a command under Montgomery. Having been despatched, with Major Brown, into the interior of Canada, he was, on his return, persuaded by the latter to undertake the rash project of attacking Montreal. He divided his detachment, consisting of less than three hundred men, into two parties, intending to assail the city at opposite points. Major Brown was prevented from executing his part of the enterprise. Colonel Allen and his small party, opposed by the whole force of the enemy under Governor Carleton, fought with desperate valour. Many were killed; the survivors, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to surrender. The governor, viewing Allen, not as the intrepid soldier, but as a factious rebel, loaded him with irons, and sent him to England for trial.

On the 18th of October, a fortunate event brightened the prospects of the Americans. Fort Chamblee, situated several miles north of St. Johns, was supposed to be beyond their reach, and was but slightly guarded. A detachment under Majors Brown and Livingston, attacking it unexpectedly, gained possession of it with little loss. Several pieces of cannon, and one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, were the fruits of the victory. The Americans, encouraged by success, immediately, in defiance of the continual fire of the enemy, erected a battery near Fort St. Johns, and made preparations for a severe cannonade, and an assault, if necessary.

At this juncture, Montgomery received intelligence of an action between Governor Carleton and a body of Green Mountain boys commanded by Colonel Warner. The former, elated by his victory over Allen, collected about eight hundred regulars, militia, and Indians, with the view of raising the siege of St. Johns. In full confidence of success, they left Montreal, embarked in boats, and proceeded towards the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. In the bushes at the water's edge, Colonel Warner, having received information of their purpose, concealed three hundred men, who, when the enemy approached the shore, poured upon them a fire so unexpected and destructive, that the flotilla returned, in confusion, to Montreal.

On the 1st of November, Montgomery commenced a heavy cannonade of the enemy's works, which was continued through

the day. In the evening, he sent to the British commander, by one of Governor Carleton's men, who had been made prisoner by Colonel Warner, intelligence of the governor's defeat, and demanded the surrender of the fort. It was accordingly surrendered, and the next morning entered by the American troops.

Montgomery hastened to Montreal, and, at the same time, despatched down the Sorel, the mouth of which is below that city, a naval force, to prevent the escape of the British to Quebec. Governor Carleton, believing the city not tenable, quitted it in the night, and, in a boat with muffled oars, was conveyed through the American squadron. The next day, General Montgomery entered the city; and, although no terms were granted to the inhabitants, he treated them with the kindness of a fellow-citizen, declaring that the property, rights, and religion, of every individual should be sacredly respected.

By his benevolence and address, he gained the affections of the Canadians, many of whom joined his standard. More, however, of his own troops, whose term of enlistment had expired, insisted on returning to their homes. So dear to them were the delights of the domestic fireside, and so vividly were they recalled to memory by the severe duties of the campaign, that the high character of the commander, his address, his entreaties, availed nothing to induce them to proceed on the expedition. With the remnant of his army, consisting of no more than three hundred men, he began his march towards Quebec, expecting to meet there another body of troops, sent to act in concert with him.

These troops were a detachment from the army before Boston, consisting of one thousand men, and commanded by Colonel Arnold; who, as a soldier, was adventurous, impetuous, and fearless; as a man, overbearing, avaricious, and profligate. Their route lay along the coast to the mouth of the Kennebec, in Maine, thence up that river to its source, and thence, over lofty mountains, through a wilderness unexplored by civilized man, to the river St. Lawrence. They were unable to begin their march before the middle of September; on the 22d, they embarked in boats, at Gardiner, on the Kennebec, and proceeded to ascend that river.

They found the current rapid, and the navigation interrupted by cataracts. Around these they were obliged to draw, by hand, their provisions, arms, and even their boats. Nor was their route on land less difficult. They had deep swamps to pass, and craggy mountains to ascend. The toil was so incessant, and the fatigue so great, that many, falling sick, were left behind; and along with these the rear division, commanded by Enos, returned without the knowledge of Arnold.

Before they reached the height of land, provisions became scarce. Dogs, cartridge-boxes, and shoes, were eaten. At the summit, the whole stock was divided equally among them, each receiving but two quarts of flour as his portion. The order of march was no longer observed. The soldiers were directed to proceed, singly or by companies, as they might choose, slowly or with speed, as they were able, to the nearest Canadian settlement, then one hundred miles distant. When the company, whose superior strength enabled them to keep in advance, were thirty miles from any human habitation, the last morsel of food had been consumed.

In this extremity, Arnold, with a few of the most vigorous, made a forced march to the first village, and returned to his almost famished companions, with food sufficient to satisfy the first wants of nature. Refreshed and strengthened, they hastened forward, and, on the 4th of November, arrived at the French settlements on the Chaudiere, having been thirty-two days without seeing the abodes of civilized man, and having, in that time, performed a march unexampled for its temerity and hardship.

The inhabitants welcomed them with cordial hospitality. Though separated, in a great measure, from the world, they had heard of the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies; and, as the very name of liberty is dear to the heart of man, their sympathies were all enlisted on the side of the latter. Arnold distributed proclamations among them similar to those issued by General Schuyler. As soon as the scattered soldiers were assembled, he continued his march, and, on the 9th of November, arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

Nothing could exceed the surprise and astonishment of the citizens on seeing a body of hostile troops emerging from the southern wilderness. Had Arnold, at this moment of panic, been able to cross the river, the city must have fallen an easy conquest; but boats were not at hand, and a furious storm, occurring at the time, rendered crossing impossible.

Having procured boats, and the storm having abated, he crossed the river on the night of the 13th, and landed near the place where Wolfe had landed in the preceding war. Mounting the same steep ascent, he formed his troops on the Plains of Abraham, and marched towards the city. Convinced, by a cannonade from the walls, that the garrison were ready to receive him, he returned, encamped on the plain, and, on the 18th, marched to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles from Quebec, where he determined to await the arrival of Montgomery.

He came on the 1st of December. How great was the joy, and how lively the gratulations, they only can imagine, who after long absence and suffering, have met, in a foreign land

their friends and former companions. Arnold's troops had, indeed, great cause of rejoicing. They were entirely destitute of winter clothing, and had endured extreme distress from the severity of the cold. Montgomery had brought a supply from Montreal, which he immediately distributed among them.

Their united force amounted to no more than nine hundred men. On the 5th, the general, at the head of these, appeared before the city, and sent a flag with a summons to surrender. The delay which had taken place had enabled Governor Carleton to increase the strength of the works, and to change the sentiments of the citizens from friendship for the Americans to hostility. He ordered his troops to re upon the bear er of the flag.

Montgomery soon discovered the defection of his friends, and perceived that he must depend upon his own force alone for the accomplishment of his object. When he compared this force with that of the enemy, who were fifteen hundred strong; when he reflected that his troops were recent levies, whose term was nearly expired, and whose thoughts were fixed upon their homes,—his hopes of success became faint, and his forebodings gloomy. He believed, however, that success was possible, and his high sense of honour and of duty impelled him to hazard every thing to obtain it for his country.

He at first determined to batter the walls, and harass the city by repeated and furious attacks, hoping that an opportunity might occur of striking some decisive blow. He raised a mound composed of snow and water, which soon became ice, and there he planted his cannon, six only in number. After a short trial, they were found inadequate; and this plan was abandoned.

Meanwhile, the snow fell incessantly; the cold became intense; and the sufferings of the troops, from the rigour of the season and their continual toil, surpassed all that they had ever felt, or witnessed, or imagined. To increase their distress, the small-pox broke out in the camp, presenting death in a new shape, and adding to the severity of their labours, by lessening the number to bear them. In the midst of these trials, their attachment to the cause, and devotion to their commander, remained unabated; but these, he reflected, must soon give way before such severe and constant suffering; and for himself, he determined to make immediately a bold and desperate effort.

Assembling his officers, he proposed to storm the city. He placed before them the motives which operated upon his own mind. He did not deny that the enterprise was highly difficult and dangerous, but maintained that success was possible. He addressed a band of heroes whose sentiments were congenial with his own; and the decision was unanimous in favour of

his proposition. The plan and time of attack were concerted, and to each officer was assigned his particular duty.

On the last day of December, at four o'clock in the morning, while a violent snow-storm was raging, the troops marched from the camp in four columns, commanded by Montgomery, Arnold, Livingston, and Brown. The two latter were directed to make feigned attacks upon the upper town, in order to distract the attention of the garrison, while the two former proceeded to assault the lower town at opposite points.

Livingston and Brown, impeded by the snow, did not arrive in season to execute their feints. Montgomery, advancing, at the head of his column, along the bank of the river, came to a barrier or stockade of strong posts. Two of these he sawed off with his own hands. The guard within were alarmed, and fled to a block-house, fifty yards distant, where several pieces of cannon were stationed. He passed through the opening in the barrier, encouraging his men to follow. The troops at the block-house, to whom the guard had communicated their terror, began to desert it.

At this moment, Montgomery halted, to allow the troops near him to form in a body. Observing this delay, a Canadian, who lingered behind, returned to the block-house, seized a match which was burning, and discharged a cannon loaded with grape-shot, and fortuitously pointed at the little band. The discharge was instantly fatal to Montgomery, and to several favourite officers standing around him. The men, seeing their beloved leader fall, shrunk back. Colonel Campbell, the next in command, ordered a retreat; and that portion of the garrison stationed at the block-house, was left at liberty to hasten to another part of the city, already in commotion from the attack of Arnold.

This officer, marching, like Montgomery, at the head of his column, had entered the town. Advancing along a narrow street, which was swept by the grape-shot of the enemy, he received a severe wound in the leg, and was carried to the hospital. Captain Morgan, afterwards distinguished by his exploits at the south, assumed the command. Placing himself at the head of two companies, he boldly approached the enemy's works, and, entering through the embrasures, drove the men from their guns.

Here he halted until the rear of the column came up. When time was given for reflection, the danger of their situation—a small band in the heart of a hostile city—filled even the bosoms of the brave with dread. Morgan retained his firmness; and, when the morning dawned, with a voice that resounded through the city, summoned his troops to the assault of a second battery, a short distance in advance of the first.

Before this, a fierce combat ensued. Many of the enemy

were killed, but more Americans, who were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from the windows of the houses. Some of the most daring mounted the wall; but, seeing, on the other side, two ranks of soldiers, with their muskets on the ground, presenting hedges of bayonets to receive them should they leap forward, they recoiled and descended.

Wearied with exertion, and benumbed with cold; exposed to a deadly fire from every quarter; their arms rendered useless by the snow which continued to fall,—the soldiers sought refuge in the houses. Perceiving that all further attempts would be vain, Morgan gave the signal of retreat. Some of the men fled, but most were unwilling to encounter another tempest of shot. They refused, however, to yield, until assured of the fate of Montgomery; when, losing all hope of success and escape, they surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The loss of the Americans, in this desperate enterprise, was above four hundred, of whom one hundred and fifty were killed. The whole continent bewailed the death of Montgomery. He was conspicuous, even in those times of enthusiasm, for his ardent devotion to the cause of freedom. He was endeared to the good, by the exercise, in the midst of war, of the most amiable virtues. His soldiers adored him for his lofty spirit and daring bravery. The enemy respected him for his honourable conduct and distinguished military qualities. Until his last enterprise, continual success bore testimony to the greatness of his talents; and defeat, when he was no more, confirmed the testimony of success. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to perpetuate his fame. It lives yet fresh in the memory of Americans. In 1818, New York, his adopted state, removed his remains from Quebec to her own metropolis, where the monument had been placed; and near that they repose.

Some of the Americans, on their escape from Quebec, retreated precipitately to Montreal. Arnold, with difficulty, detained about four hundred, who, breaking up their camp, retired three miles from the city. Here this heroic band, though much inferior in number to the garrison, kept it in continual awe, and, by preventing all communication with the country, reduced it to great distress for the want of provisions.

Congress, on receiving information of the disaster of the 31st of December, directed reinforcements to be sent to Canada; and, after the beginning of March, Arnold's party was almost daily augmented by the arrival of small bodies of troops. But its strength did not increase with its numbers. The small-pox still continued its ravages; fatigue, without hope, depressed the spirits of the soldiers; the difficulty of obtaining provisions became every day greater; and the harsh measures

adopted by Arnold to procure them, exasperated the inhabitants around him.

On the 1st of May, General Thomas, who had been appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived from the camp at Roxbury. On reviewing his army, he found it to consist of less than two thousand men, of whom half were not fit for duty. A council of war was held, who resolved that it was expedient to take a more defensible position higher up the St. Lawrence. To this decision they were led by the knowledge that the ice was leaving the river, and by the expectation that reinforcements from England would immediately come up. The next morning, in fact, while the Americans were engaged in removing the sick, several ships appeared in sight, and entered the harbour. A multitude of troops were immediately poured into the city.

At one o'clock, Carleton made a sortie at the head of a thousand men. Against these, General Thomas, at that moment, could oppose but three hundred. All the stores, and many of the sick, fell into the power of the enemy. The latter were treated by the governor with great tenderness, and, when restored to health, were assisted to return to their homes. The Americans retreated to the mouth of the Sorel, where they were joined by several regiments, and where their worthy commander died of the small-pox, which yet prevailed in the camp.

While patriotism and valour were, in this quarter, unsuccessfully contending with a superior force, the Americans sustained a heavy and unexpected calamity, resulting from cowardice, in another. At a fortified place, called the Cedars, forty miles above Montreal, Colonel Bedell was stationed with four hundred men and two pieces of cannon. Assembling a force of six hundred, mostly Indian warriors, Captain Foster, who commanded at Oswegatchie, descended the river to attack this post.

Colonel Bedell, leaving Major Butterfield in command, repaired to Montreal to obtain assistance. Shortly afterwards, Captain Foster appeared, and invested the fort. He had no artillery; and, in the course of two days, but one man was wounded. More efficient than his arms was the intimation, that, if any of the Indians should be killed, it would not be in his power to restrain them from the massacre of the garrison. Intimidated by this, Major Butterfield surrendered his whole party prisoners of war, stipulating only for their baggage and their lives.

Upon the representation of Colonel Bedell, a reinforcement was ordered to march from Montreal; but he declined returning with it, and the command was given to Major Sherburne. The day after the surrender of the fort, of which event

the major was ignorant, and about four miles from it, he was met by a large body of Indians, to whom, after an obstinate and bloody conflict, he was obliged to surrender. The whole loss of the Americans was at least five hundred.

General Sullivan was appointed to succeed General Thomas, and, on the 1st of June, arrived at the River Sorel, where he found between four and five thousand men. But the army of the enemy had, in the mean time, been augmented to thirteen thousand. Commanding a force so decidedly superior, Governor Carleton pressed forward in pursuit, and the Americans retreated slowly and reluctantly before him. At St. Johns, the pursuit ceased; but General Sullivan, in obedience to orders from General Schuyler, continued his march to Crown Point, at the head of Lake Champlain.

Thus terminated the expedition against Canada. In its conception it was singularly bold and romantic. In its progress were displayed fortitude and bravery seldom equalled in military annals. Its failure was a painful disappointment to the patriots of the day. It is now consoling to reflect, that success would probably have proved injurious to the cause of independence. To protect the province, the military force of the confederacy must have been too much extended, and colonies more important have been left defenceless.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

THE last humble petition of the American congress to the king was presented by Richard Penn, who had been governor of Pennsylvania, and Arthur Lee, one of the colonial agents. A few days afterwards, they were told, by the minister, that no answer would be made to it. The same haughty spirit that dictated this reply actuated a large majority of both houses of parliament. In December, an act was passed prohibiting all trade with the colonies; authorising the capture and condemnation of all American vessels and their cargoes; and, with a refinement in cruelty which evinced the exasperated feelings of the king and ministry, making it lawful to enroll, as seamen or marines, all persons found on board such vessels, and compel them to do duty as such, thus placing them where they might be obliged to fight against their relatives, friends, and country. Treaties were also made with the landgrave of Hesse and other German princes, hiring of them seventeen thousand men, to be employed against the Americans; and it

was determined to send over, in addition to these, twenty-five thousand English troops.

As soon as intelligence of the act of parliament reached America, the congress authorised the colonists to fit out privateers and capture British vessels. They also, casting off the shackles of commercial monopoly, opened their ports to all the world, except the dominions of Great Britain. They appointed Mr. Dumas, of Holland, their agent in that republic; and sent Silas Deane, of Connecticut, to France, to appear there as a commercial agent, but with secret instructions to hold political conferences with the French ministry.

In the beginning of the year 1776, a fleet under Sir Peter Parker, and two thousand five hundred troops, commanded by Earl Cornwallis, were despatched upon an expedition against the southern colonies. Soon after, Admiral Hotham set sail with a large number of transports, carrying the first division of Hessians; and, in May, followed Admiral Lord Howe, who had been appointed commander of the naval force on the American station. He, and his brother, General Howe, had also been appointed joint commissioners to grant pardons on submission.

On the first of May, the fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, arrived on the coast of North Carolina, where Sir Henry Clinton, arriving at the same time from New York, took command of the troops. The late defeat of the Highland emigrants had so dispirited the loyalists in this colony, that he determined to proceed farther south, and attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

Fortunately, an official letter, announcing the speedy departure of the expedition from England, had been intercepted early in the spring; and time was thus given to place this city in a state of defence. A strong fort was built on Sullivan's Island—a position from which ships, on entering the harbour, could be greatly annoyed; the streets, in different places, were strongly barricaded; the stores on the wharves, though of great value, were pulled down, and lines of defence erected along the water's edge.

On learning the near approach of the enemy, the militia of the country were summoned to defend the capital. They obeyed with alacrity, increasing to five or six thousand the number of troops. General Lee had been sent from New York to take the chief command; and his high military reputation gave confidence to the soldiers and inhabitants. Under him were Colonels Gadsden, Moultrie, and Thompson.

In the morning of the 28th of June, nine ships-of-war, carrying two hundred and fifty guns, began a furious attack upon the fort on the island, which was garrisoned by about four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Moultrie. At

the same time, a detachment of troops was landed on an adjoining island, and directed to cross over, at a place where the sea was supposed to be shallow, and attack it in the rear.

The heavy and incessant fire of the enemy was received with coolness, and returned with skill. Many of their ships suffered severely, and particularly the Bristol, on board of which was Commodore Parker. She was twice in flames; her captain was killed; and so dreadful was the slaughter, that, at one time, the commodore was the only person upon deck unhurt.

In the midst of the action, General Lee visited the garrison. He was delighted with the enthusiasm they exhibited. Nothing seemed capable of quenching their ardour. Soldiers, mortally wounded, exhorted their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty. "I die," said Sergeant M'Donald, in his last moments, "for a glorious cause; but I hope it will not expire with me."

The British troops, destined to attack the fort in the rear, found it impossible to reach the island. The engagement with the fleet continued until dark. The ships, having received too much injury to renew it, moved off in the night; and, a few days afterwards, the fleet, with the troops on board, set sail for New York, where the whole British force had been ordered to assemble.

The killed and wounded on the part of the enemy amounted to near two hundred. Of the Americans, ten were killed, and twenty-two wounded. The troops, for their gallantry, received the thanks of congress, and high and well-merited praise from their countrymen. Their success was auspicious to the cause of freedom. In a part of the country where resistance by force had been but little contemplated, it aroused the people to exertion, and inspired them with confidence.

Notwithstanding the active war carried on, the colonies still professed allegiance to the British king; and protested that the sole object of all their measures was a redress of grievances. In the beginning of the contest, these professions, in most instances, were sincere; but a state of hostility produced a rapid change of sentiment. In place of attachment to monarchy and to Great Britain succeeded devotion to republican principles and wishes for independence.

The temporary constitutions adopted by New Hampshire, and several other colonies, had shown with what facility all bonds of connection with the mother country could be dissolved. Essays in the newspapers, and pamphlets, industriously circulated, appealing to the reason and to the passions of the people, enforced the necessity and policy of a separation. Resistance, it was observed, had been carried too far to allow

the hope that cordial harmony could ever be restored; submission on any terms to irritated masters, would be totally unsafe; and the alternative was presented of rising to the honourable rank of an independent nation, or sinking into a state of vassalage which every future year would render more oppressive and degrading.

A pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," and written by Thomas Paine, an Englishman, was universally read, and most highly admired. In language plain, forcible, and singularly well fitted to operate on the public mind, he portrayed the excellencies of republican institutions, and attacked, with happy and successful ridicule, the principles of hereditary government. The effect of the pamphlet, in making converts, was astonishing, and is probably without precedent in the annals of literature.

As a step preparatory to independence, congress, on the 15th of May, recommended to those colonies that had not yet adopted constitutions, to establish, without any limitation of time, "such governments as might best conduce to the happiness and safety of the people." The recommendation was generally complied with; and in every instance the government was not only entirely elective, but elective at such short periods as to impress upon rulers their immediate accountability to the people, and upon the people a just opinion of their own importance, and a conviction of their safety from misrule.

The colonies had become accustomed to contemplate themselves as sovereign states; and the governments of many expressed their desire that congress would declare them such to the world. On the 7th of June, a resolution to that effect was proposed, in that body, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. While under consideration, the colonies which had not expressed their approbation of the measure, declared their concurrence. The resolution was adopted on the 2d day of July. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston, were instructed to prepare a Declaration of Independence, which, on the 4th of July,—a memorable day,—was almost unanimously adopted.

"We hold these truths," says this celebrated state paper, "to be self-evident—that all mankind are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute

a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

To justify the exercise, on the present occasion, of the right here asserted, a long enumeration is made of the injuries inflicted upon the colonies by the king of Great Britain, which is closed by declaring that "a prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The appeals which had been made to the people of Great Britain, are also recounted; "but they too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce to the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

"We, therefore, representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and of right ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

This declaration was communicated to the army, and received with enthusiastic plaudits. A great majority of the people welcomed it with joy, which was displayed, in almost every city, by extraordinary public festivities. A letter written by John Adams to his wife, on the 3d day of July, the day after the resolution was agreed to, transmits, better than the historian can describe, the feelings of the patriots of that time. "The day is past. The 2d day of July, 1776, will be a memorable epocha in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the Great Anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of the continent to the other, from this time forward for ever.

"You will think me transported with enthusiasm; but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood and treasure.

that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states. Yet, through all this gloom, I can see the rays of light and glory; I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph, although you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not."

Unfortunately, an entire union of sentiment on the subject did not exist. Those who had been denominated tories were averse to a separation; and between them and the whigs, feelings of bitter hostility—the more bitter from their being fellow-countrymen—arose, and grew stronger as the contest proceeded. They were suspected and accused, doubtless in many cases justly, of acting as spies for the enemy. Many joined the royal armies; the property of many was confiscated; many were confined to their farms; many, by such tribunals as existed, were sentenced to be tarred and feathered; and many, whenever they could be caught, suffered that indignity without sentence or hearing. Ancient enmities were often thus gratified under colour of patriotic indignation. Congress passed a resolution condemning and forbidding these lawless persecutions; but nothing could assuage the hatred which each class felt for the other.

During the spring and summer, unremitting exertions were made to fortify the city of New York, against which, it was supposed, the whole strength of the enemy would be next directed. In this crisis the people of that state acted with spirit and firmness. One fourth of the militia of the counties contiguous to the city, were called into the public service. Yet the means, in the power of the commander-in-chief, were not adequate to the emergency. He had under his command but fourteen thousand effective men; and was almost destitute of many articles which impart strength as well as comfort to an army. As it was in the power of the enemy to choose their point of attack, this force was necessarily divided. A part were stationed in the city, a part at Brooklyn, on Long Island, and small detachments at various other posts.

In the beginning of July, Admiral and General Howe arrived in the harbour of New York. They were accompanied by a powerful naval force, and by an army of twenty-four thousand men, abundantly supplied with military stores. The troops were landed on Staten Island, a position from which ulterior movements could most conveniently be made.

General Washington, presuming that the first attack would be made upon the posts at Brooklyn, strengthened it by a detachment of troops from the city, and gave the command of it to General Putnam. On the 22d of August, the British forces were landed on the opposite side of Long Island. The two armies were now about four miles asunder, and were separated by a range of hills, over which passed three main roads. Vari-

ous circumstances led General Putnam to suspect that the enemy intended to approach him by the road leading to his right, which he therefore guarded with most care.

Very early in the morning of the 26th, his suspicions were strengthened by the approach, upon that road, of a column of British troops, and upon the centre road, of a column of Hessians. To oppose these, the American troops were mostly drawn from their camp, and, in the engagements which took place, evinced considerable bravery.

These movements of the enemy were but feints to divert the attention of Putnam from the road which led to his left, along which General Clinton was silently advancing with the main body of the British army. The report of cannon in that direction gave the first intimation of the danger which was approaching. The Americans endeavoured to escape it, by returning, with the utmost celerity, to their camp. They were not able to arrive there in time, but were intercepted by General Clinton, who drove them back upon the Hessians.

Attacked thus in front and rear, they fought a succession of skirmishes, in the course of which many were killed, many made prisoners, and several parties, seizing favourable opportunities, forced their way through the enemy, and regained the camp. A bold and vigorous charge, made by the American general, Lord Stirling, at the head of a Maryland regiment, enabled a large body to escape in this manner. This regiment, fighting with desperate bravery, kept a force greatly superior engaged, until their comrades had passed by, when the few who survived, ceasing to resist, surrendered to the enemy.

The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, considerably exceeded a thousand. Among the latter were Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull. The total loss of the enemy was less than four hundred. They encamped at night before the American lines, and the next day began to erect batteries within six hundred yards of their left.

While the battle was raging, General Washington passed over to Brooklyn, where he witnessed, with inexpressible anguish, the destruction of his best troops, from which, such was the superiority of the enemy, it was impossible to save them. Finding the men dispirited by defeat, he determined to remove them to the city. The retreat was effected on the night of the 28th, with such silence and despatch, that, before the suspicions of the enemy were excited, the last division of boats was beyond the reach of their fire.

So disheartened were the militia, that they deserted by companies; and even the regular troops were infected by their example. Near the middle of September, the commander-in-chief, fearing to be enclosed in the city, retired to the heights

of Haerlem. The enemy immediately took possession. A few days afterwards, a fire broke out which consumed about a thousand houses.

General Washington, after reflecting upon the events which had already occurred; after considering the inexperience of his troops, the condition of the country, and the distance of the enemy from their resources,—determined to adopt a cautious system of warfare; to risk at present no general engagement; to harass and wear out the enemy by keeping them in continual motion; and to inspire his own troops with courage, by engaging them in skirmishes, in all cases where success was probable. In one, fought on the 6th of September, the brave Colonel Knowlton was killed; but the result was so decidedly favourable to the Americans, that the troops recovered their spirits, and the general was confirmed in the system he had adopted.

After the battle on Long Island, Admiral Howe sent General Sullivan, who was there made prisoner, to Philadelphia, with the message to the congress, that he and his brother, General Howe, had full powers to settle the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies; that he could not treat with the congress as such, but was desirous of meeting some of the members, as private individuals, at such place as they should appoint. Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were, in consequence, sent to Staten Island, where they had a conference with Admiral Howe in September. They told him that they came as a committee of congress, and must so consider themselves; but he might consider them in what light he pleased. The conference was short. He made no proposition but that a general pardon should be granted, with such exceptions as might be thought expedient, upon the return of the colonies to their allegiance; adding, however, strong but vague assurances that there was a good disposition in the king and ministry to redress their grievances. The committee replied, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not to be expected; that the colonies considered themselves independent states, but were desirous of peace, and were ready to conclude a treaty with Great Britain on terms that would be advantageous to both countries. An account of the conference was published, by order of the congress, for the information of their constituents. It revived in few or none the ancient sentiments of loyalty; in most it gave birth to feelings of contempt and disdain.

The movements of the enemy, in the beginning of October, indicated an intention of gaining the rear of the Americans, and cutting off their communication with the Eastern States. The army, therefore, quitting Haerlem, moved northward towards White Plains. General Howe pursued, making several

attempts to bring on a general engagement, which Washington avoided by skilful changes of position. A partial action was fought, on the 28th of October, in which the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

Finding his antagonist too cautious to be drawn into the open field, and too strong to be attacked in his entrenchments, General Howe determined to return towards New York, and attack Forts Washington and Lee, opposite to each other on the banks of the Hudson, and about ten miles above the city. In these forts, garrisons had been left, from a wish to preserve the command of this important river. That in Fort Washington, consisting in part of militia, amounted to two thousand seven hundred men, under Colonel Magaw.

On the 16th of November, four divisions of the enemy's army, led by their principal officers, attacked it in four different quarters. The garrison, and particularly the riflemen under Colonel Rawlings, fought bravely. The Germans were several times driven back, with great loss. But these combined and vigorous attacks were at length successful. The ammunition in the fort being nearly exhausted, and all the outposts driven in, the commander, on being a second time summoned, agreed to capitulate on honourable terms. This was the severest blow the enemy had yet felt. The loss of the enemy, however, in killed and wounded, was supposed to be twelve hundred men.

Fort Lee was immediately evacuated, the garrison joining General Washington. He had previously, with one division of his army, crossed over into New Jersey, leaving the other, under the command of General Lee, in New York. His force, even when augmented by the garrison, consisted but of three thousand effective men; and they were destitute of tents, of blankets, and even of utensils to cook their provisions. His first station was Newark; but, the enemy pursuing him, he was compelled to retreat successively to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and, finally, to cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania; and so close was the pursuit, that the advance of the British army was often in sight.

Small as was his force when the retreat began, it diminished daily. On the last of November, many of his troops were entitled to their discharge, and not one of them could be persuaded to continue another day in service. Such, he feared, would be the conduct of the remainder, whose time would expire at the end of the year. In extremity he urged General Lee to hasten to him, that officer, having other purposes in view, declined. He called on the militia of New Jersey, but none obeyed his call. The poor

ing, and withheld all aid from an army, whose career seemed near its termination.

In this darkest hour in American history, General Howe issued a proclamation commanding all persons in arms against his majesty to disband themselves, and all congresses, committees, and associations, to desist from their treasonable doings, and relinquish their usurped authority; and he engaged that all persons who should, within sixty days, appear before a British officer, and subscribe a declaration that they would be obedient to his Majesty, should receive a full and free pardon of all treasons committed. The contrast between a ragged, suffering, retreating army, and a full-clad, powerful, exulting foe, induced many, despairing of success, to subscribe the declaration, and accept of pardon. Among them were Mr. Gallowsay and Mr. Allen, who had been members of the Continental Congress.

A timely and eloquent address of the New York convention, published in answer to the proclamation, served to sustain and revive the courage of many. They referred to its artful misrepresentations and insidious promises; appealed to the love of liberty and the patriotism of the people; described, without palliation or concealment, the gloomy condition of affairs; and then held up to view the conduct of the Romans: "After the armies of Rome had been repeatedly defeated by Hannibal; when that imperial city was besieged by that brave general, at the head of a victorious army; so confident were they of their own prowess, and of the protection of Heaven, that the very ground on which the Carthaginians were encamped sold at auction for more than the usual price. They disdained to receive the protection of Hannibal, or to regard his proclamations. They remembered that their ancestors had left them free—ancestors who had bled in rescuing their country from the tyranny of kings. They invoked the protection of the Supreme Being; they bravely defended their city, repelled the enemy, and recovered their country."

As the British army approached Philadelphia, Congress adjourned to Baltimore, having previously invested General Washington "with full power to order and direct all things relative to the department and to the operations of war." Such unlimited authority could not have been placed in hands more worthy to hold it. To the elastic energy of his mind, and his perfect self-possession in the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her independence.

On the day that he was driven over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. On the 13th of December, General Lee, having wandered from his army, was surprised and taken prisoner. In the experience and talents of of this officer, the people reposed great confidence, and they

lamented his loss like that of an army. In its consequences, his capture was fortunate. The command of his division devolved upon General Sullivan, who conducted it promptly to General Washington, augmenting his army to nearly seven thousand effective men.

Still so much stronger were the enemy, that they regarded the rebels—for so they delighted to call the patriots of that day—as almost subdued, and doubted not that a vigorous attempt, whenever they should be disposed to make it, would place in their power the handful of men before them. They rioted upon the plunder of the country, and enjoyed in prospect the fruits of an assured and decisive victory.

Washington saw that this tide of ill fortune must be stemmed—must even be rolled back upon the enemy—or it would soon overwhelm his country. He resolved to hazard all in one vigorous effort for victory. On the night of the 25th of December, at the head of two thousand four hundred men, he crossed the Delaware at Trenton, surprised a body of Hessians stationed at that place, took nine hundred prisoners, and immediately re-crossed, having lost but nine of his men.

This sudden and severe blow awakened the enemy to activity. Cornwallis, who had repaired to New York, entrusting to his inferior officers the task of finishing the war, returned, with additional troops, to regain the ground that had been lost. He concentrated all his forces at Princeton; and soon after, Washington, having been joined by a body of Pennsylvania militia, and persuaded the New England troops to serve six weeks longer, again crossed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton.

On the 2nd of January, 1777, the greater part of the British army marched to attack the Americans. In the evening, they encamped near Trenton, in full expectation of a battle and victory in the morning. Washington, sensible of the inferiority of his force,—sensible, too, that flight would be almost as fatal as defeat,—conceived another bold project, which he resolved instantly to execute.

About midnight, having renewed his fires, he silently decamped, and gaining, by a circuitous route, the rear of the enemy, marched towards Princeton, where he presumed Cornwallis had left a part of his troops. At sunrise, the van of the American forces met unexpectedly two British regiments. A sharp action ensued; the former gave way. At this crisis, when all was at stake, the commander-in-chief led the main body to the attack. The enemy were routed, and fled. Fortunately, the heroic Washington, though exposed to both fires, and but a few yards distant from either party, escaped.

Instead of pursuing them, he pressed forward where one regiment yet remained. Part

a precipitate flight; about three hundred were made prisoners. The British loss in killed was upwards of one hundred; the American was less, but in the number were the brave General Mercer, and several valuable officers. Among the wounded was Lieutenant James Monroe, afterwards raised to the highest office in the gift of his fellow-citizens.

In consternation, the British army immediately evacuated Trenton, and retreated to New Brunswick. The inhabitants, resuming their courage, and giving full force to their rage, which fear had smothered, took revenge for the brutalities they had suffered. The enemy were driven from all their posts in New Jersey, except Amboy and Brunswick, and the American army obtained secure winter quarters at Morristown.

The brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton raised, from the lowest depression, the spirits of the American people. They regarded Washington as the saviour of his country. He became the theme of eulogy throughout Europe; and having displayed, as occasions demanded, the opposite qualities of caution and impetuosity, he received the honourable and appropriate appellation of the American Fabius.

During this year, the war was not confined wholly to the land. Even in 1775, many privateers were fitted out in the ports of Massachusetts: late in that year, congress authorized the construction of thirteen vessels of war carrying from twenty-four to thirty-two guns each; and a part of these were soon launched and made ready for sea. In the succeeding year, the privateers multiplied rapidly, and by them and the national cruisers many British merchantmen were captured. Immediately after the evacuation of Boston, thirty ships and several transports, carrying five hundred troops, bound to that port from England, were taken off the harbour. No where on the ocean were British merchantmen safe from American privateers. They ventured into the European seas, and even into the English Channel, where they made many valuable prizes. At one time, the alarm they occasioned was so great that British ships hardly dared venture to sea, and the rate of insurance rose enormously. The prizes were sent into the ports of France, Spain, and Holland, and there sold, without the formality of condemnation or trial. The number taken in this and the last year was estimated at eight hundred, and their value at five millions of dollars.

CHAPTER XXII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

THE labours of the Continental congress were almost as arduous as those of the army. They were continually in session, and constantly occupied in the performance of multifarious, perplexing, and important duties. Their patriotism and firmness, when disaster and defeat had almost annihilated the American armies, entitles them to a high rank among the founders of the republic. They exhibited no symptom of faltering or of terror. In September, 1776, they voted to raise an army to take the place of that which was to be disbanded at the end of the year; and made sensible, by experience, that short enlistments had been the cause of most of the misfortunes of the country, they resolved that the new levies should be enlisted to serve three years, or during the war, at the option of the individual recruits. The new army was to consist of eighty battalions, of which New Hampshire was required to raise three; Massachusetts, fifteen; Rhode Island two; Connecticut, eight; New York, four; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, twelve; Delaware, one; Maryland, eight; Virginia, fifteen; North Carolina, nine; South Carolina, six; Georgia, one. From this requisition some idea may be formed of the relative importance of the states at that period.

To raise money to pay and support their army was the most difficult of all their duties. They had begun by an emission of bills of credit similar to the treasury notes of later times; these for a while passed current at their nominal value, most people, while the amount was small, believing that they would be paid, and no patriot choosing to discredit by refusing them. Other emissions followed; the tories decried them, and they began to depreciate. In October, the congress, having no power to lay a tax, and fearing to destroy the credit of their bills by increasing the amount, opened loan-offices in the several states, and proposed to borrow, at an interest of four per cent, five millions of dollars, reimbursable in three years. In this way sufficient relief was not obtained; and other emissions of paper money were from necessity made. To prevent it from depreciating still more, the congress, in January, 1777, resolved that it ought to be made a tender in payment of all public and private debts; and declared that any one who should refuse to receive it ^{as} gold and silver, should be deemed an enemy. This resolution had the force of law ^{and} the bills continued to depreciate ^{the} price of

all articles rose, and rose enormously. Debtors paid in Continental money at par; but a man having property to sell, and knowing there was no other money in circulation, might, and did, set his own price upon it. Upon the recommendation of the congress, many, if not all, of the states then passed laws establishing the prices of various articles, especially of those wanted for the support of the army, and authorizing purchasing commissaries to take what, in their opinion, any owner could spare, at the established prices. Arbitrary as these measures were, the people, seeing that they were deemed necessary to accomplish their own object, submitted, few complaining, and none daring to resist.

The hope of foreign aid had, in all their disasters, cheered onward the congress as well as the people. To interest other nations in their cause, they solemnly declared that they would listen to no terms of peace which required a relinquishment of their independence, or which should deprive other nations of a free trade to their ports. They believed that the arrogant tone and lofty bearing of Great Britain, which her brilliant successes under Pitt had led her to assume, would induce the sovereigns of Europe to receive their applications with favour; and they relied still more on the hereditary enmity of France, embittered by her late humiliation. They therefore appointed political agents to Austria, Spain, Prussia, and Tuscany. They had before sent Silas Deane as secret agent to Paris, where he had been well received, and had, by the connivance of the ministry, obtained and forwarded considerable supplies of munitions of war. They now appointed, as commissioners to that court, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Arthur Lee, instructing them to solicit a further supply of warlike stores, and the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Deane and Lee were already in Europe. Franklin arrived there in December. The cause of which he was the advocate, and his own great fame as a philosopher, procured him a flattering reception from all ranks of people. America, her minister, her struggle against oppression, became the themes of popular discourse, and the government itself became more and more propitious to her cause.

But they declined all open recognition of the new republic knowing that a war with England would be the consequence. They granted aid, however, by permitting arms, covertly taken from the public arsenals, to be sent thither. They placed her trade and that of Great Britain on an equal footing. They connived at the sale, in their West India Islands, and even in the ports of France, of prizes taken by American privateers. They, enjoining secrecy, made the congress a donation of two millions of livres in money, and encouraged them to expect still more. Their conduct showed that they were

willing to aid in distressing and humbling Great Britain; and were willing that the war between her and her colonies should be long protracted; but chose to avoid committing France as a party in the quarrel.

So popular was the cause of the United States, and so exalted the character of their military leader, that many French officers sought an opportunity of engaging in their service. Among these the young marquis de la Fayette was most conspicuous for his rank, and most distinguished for his ardour and enthusiasm. At an early period, he communicated to the American agents his wish to join the republican armies. At first, they encouraged his zeal; but, learning the disasters which preceded the victory at Trenton, they, with honourable frankness, communicated the information to him, and added that they were so destitute of funds, that they could not even provide for his passage across the ocean.

"If your country," replied the gallant youth, "is indeed reduced to this extremity, it is at this moment that my departure to join her armies will render her the most essential service." He immediately hired a vessel to convey him to America, where he arrived in the spring of 1777. He was received with cordial affection by the people, became the bosom friend of Washington, solicited permission to serve without pay and was appointed major-general in the army.

In the last campaign, more prisoners had been taken by the British than by the Americans. They were detained at New York, and were confined in churches and prison ships, where they endured the extremity of wretchedness. They were exposed, without fire and almost without clothes, to the inclemency of a severe winter; were often whole days without food, and when food was offered, it was but a miserable pittance, damaged and loathsome. Many died of hunger, and more of diseases produced by their complicated sufferings.

Washington remonstrated with warmth, and threatened retaliation. After his victories in New Jersey, their treatment was less inhuman. An exchange was agreed upon; but many, when attempting to walk from their places of confinement to the vessels provided to convey them away, fell and expired in the streets. Yet, in the midst of these unparalleled sufferings, they had exhibited fortitude more rare, and more honourable to human nature, than the highest display of valour in battle. To entice them to enlist in the royal army, they were promised relief from misery, and the enjoyment of abundance. They rejected the offer with disdain; thus giving to the world the noblest proof of the absence of all mercenary views, of the sincerity and fervour of their devotion to liberty.

Before the campaign opened in the spring of 1781, the royal army was sent to destroy a quar-

posited, by the Americans, at Peekskill, about fifty miles above New York. The guard, being too few to defend them, set the store houses on fire and withdrew. In April, Governor Tryon, appointed major-general, led another detachment, consisting of two thousand men, to destroy stores deposited at Danbury, in Connecticut. He proceeded from New York by water to the vicinity of Fairfield, where he landed, and marched to the place of his destination. Eighteen houses and a large quantity of pork, beef, wheat, and flour, and seventeen hundred tents, were burnt. About eight hundred of the inhabitants assembled, and, under the direction of Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, pursued the enemy on their return. Arnold, making a rapid movement, took post in their front; Wooster attacked them in the rear. He was mortally wounded, and then his troops gave way. The enemy proceeded to Ridgefield, where they met Arnold, who had barricaded the road, but was compelled, after a smart contest of nearly an hour, to retreat. They remained there that night, in the morning set the village on fire, and pursued their march. At eleven, they again met Arnold, who accompanied them, skirmishing by the way, to their boats. They lost, in the expedition, about one hundred and seventy men; the Americans, one hundred.

Retaliation quickly followed. It was known that the British had collected stores at Sag Harbour, on the east end of Long Island. In May, Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, with one hundred and seventy men, embarked, at Guilford, in thirteen whale-boats, crossed the Sound, and landed near Southold. Thence the boats were carried fifteen miles over land to a bay, which was crossed, and the troops were again put on shore four miles from Sag Harbour. Marching to this place, they completely surprised it, killed six men, took ninety prisoners, burnt twelve vessels loaded with forage, and returned without losing a man, having been absent but twenty-five hours, and in that time traversed ninety miles.

Near the end of May, the American army, which had been augmented by recruits to almost ten thousand men, moved from Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. The British, soon after, left their encampment, and General Howe endeavoured, by various movements, to induce General Washington to quit his stronghold and meet him on equal ground. But the latter, adhering to his Fabian system of warfare, determined to remain in the position he had chosen.

General Howe, changing his purpose, transported his army to Staten Island. He there embarked sixteen thousand troops on board a large fleet, and, leaving Sir Henry Clinton in command at New York, put out to sea on the 26th of July. His destination was carefully kept secret. On the 20th of August, the fleet entered Chesapeake Bay, and rendered it certain that

an attack upon Philadelphia was intended. The troops were landed at Elk Ferry, in Maryland, fifty miles south of that city.

The American army immediately crossed the Delaware, and, passing through Philadelphia, directed its march towards the enemy. The people, weary of delays and indecisive movements, demanded that a general engagement should be hazarded for the defence of the metropolis. Washington, yielding to their wishes, took a position on the eastern bank of Brandywine Creek, on the route between Elk Ferry and Philadelphia, and there awaited the approach of the enemy.

The British force was estimated at sixteen or eighteen thousand; the American, at eleven thousand. As the former advanced, contradictory accounts of its movements embarrassed General Washington. In the forenoon of the 11th of September, one division, commanded by General Kniphausen, appeared, and made a feigned attempt to cross the creek at Chadsford, near which was stationed the American left wing. He was resisted, and a brisk action ensued. At two o'clock, Washington received certain information that the main body, having crossed the creek higher up, was hastening to attack the right flank of his right wing. That wing was immediately directed to change its position; and, as soon as it had done so, it was attacked with great fury. After a spirited but short contest, it gave away, and retreated upon the centre, then marching to support it, which also gave way, and retired down the creek to Chadsford. By this time, Kniphausen had crossed over, and attacked the left wing, which, on the arrival of the other divisions, gave way also, and the whole army retreated to Chester.

Several portions of the republican army, particularly a brigade of Virginia troops, exhibited in this battle great firmness and bravery. Its whole loss amounted to twelve hundred men; that of the British to no more than half that number. This disparity of loss was attributed to the circumstance that the American muskets, being obtained from various sources, were of different sizes, and the cartridges of course were not suitable for all. The marquis de la Fayette, and Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, took part in the engagement, and the former was wounded. The next day, the army retreated still farther, and encamped in the vicinity of Germantown. The result of the battle dispirited neither the people nor the congress; and both insisted that another should be hazarded for the safety of Philadelphia.

To prevent the enemy from entering that city by the lower road, the bridge over the Schuylkill was removed. General Howe directed his march towards the Lancaster road near Goshen; and Washington, crossing the Schuylkill, marched

towards the same point, with the view of offering him battle. On the 16th, the two armies came in sight of each other, and both, with alacrity, made preparation for the conflict. The advanced parties had met, when it began to rain, at first gently, but soon with such violence, as to put an end to all fighting. On examination, the muskets and powder of the Americans were found to have received so much injury as to be unfit for use; and Washington again crossed the Schuylkill, and encamped on its northern bank.

The severity of the weather detained General Howe on the ground until the 18th, when he proceeded on his march. General Wayne, with his division, hung upon his rear, encamping in the woods, where he believed himself secure; but most of the inhabitants around him were disaffected, and General Howe, receiving accurate accounts of his situation and force, despatched General Grey to surprise him. The fire of his piquet guard, in the night of the 20th, gave the first intelligence of his danger. The troops were instantly formed, but, being fiercely assailed, soon broke and fled, leaving nearly three hundred killed and wounded.

Having thus secured his rear, Howe proceeded to the Schuylkill, halting near but above the American encampment, the river running between them. Washington moved higher up, placing himself between the enemy and Reading, where a large quantity of stores were deposited. In the night of the 22d, Howe began a rapid march down the river towards Philadelphia. In a council of war, it was unanimously decided that pursuit was inexpedient: he entered the city on the 26th, the congress, which had returned thither in March, having previously adjourned to Lancaster. The main body of his army was encamped at Germantown.

General Howe and his friends boasted that he had out-generalled the rebel commander; but neither he nor they were aware of the weakness of his army. It was inferior in numbers, and a part were undisciplined militia; it was deficient in arms, in provisions, and in clothing; and fatigue and suffering detracted, besides, much from its efficiency. After the battle of Brandywine, the troops were often separated from their baggage; were often exposed to heavy rains without shelter; many were obliged to march without shoes, and to sleep on the ground without blankets. Could they have been required to fight and conquer such an army as Howe's?

The transactions of the commanding armies at the north, since the termination of the expedition to Canada, now demand our attention. The Americans halted at Crown Point, the British at St. Johns, and both employed the remainder of the summer in building vessels and making preparations to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

On the 11th of October, 1776, the American and British squadrons met, Colonel Arnold, who had been a sailor in his youth, commanding the former. After a short contest, the enemy, not then being able to bring their whole force into action, retired. The next day, they returned to the combat, and, being greatly superior, drove the American squadron before them to the head of the lake. A sharp action then took place: the officers and men fought gallantly; but Arnold, losing a part of his force, and perceiving defeat to be inevitable, ran the remainder of his vessels on shore, and set them on fire.

Winter approaching, Governor Carleton returned with his troops to Canada. General Burgoyne, who had served under him during the last campaign, made a voyage to England to concert a plan for future operations. It was determined that a powerful army, departing from Montreal, should proceed, by way of Lake Champlain, to the Hudson, with the view of obtaining, by the co-operation of the army at New York, the entire command of that river. All communication between the states of New England and the others lying south of them would thus be prevented. Either section, alone and unsupported, could, it was supposed, be easily subdued; and the whole strength of the nation might then be directed against the other.

Nothing was omitted which might insure the success of this project. Seven thousand choice troops, to be sent from England, were allotted to the service. They were supplied with an excellent train of brass artillery, and with every thing which could add to their efficiency as an army. Explicit instructions were sent to Governor Carleton, who was averse to employing Indians in the war, to invite all of them to accompany the expedition; and though he had been active, faithful, and successful, the ministry, passing by his claims, appointed Burgoyne to command it, selecting Generals Phillips, Reidesel, Frazer, and Specht, officers of distinguished reputation, to serve under him.

General Schuyler, of New York, a worthy officer, but not distinguished for brilliant military talents, had the chief command in the northern department. He was indefatigable in making preparations for defence; and such was his zeal in the cause of independence, and such his deserved popularity in his native state, that he doubtless accomplished more than any other person could have done. Still, at a late period in the spring, the fortifications were incomplete: and as rumours were circulated, probably by the tor
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 but

Very early in the season, ¹

immediately despatched Colonel St. Leger, with a party of regulars, Tories and Indians, by the way of the St. Lawrence and Oswego to Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, and situated in the present township of Rome; and directed him, after taking possession of the fort, to proceed down the Mohawk, and join him at Albany. With the main army, augmented in Canada to ten thousand men, he, in June, 1777, entered the territory of the States, by the way of Lake Champlain. He halted at Crown Point, and at the mouth of the little river Boquet, had a conference with a large body of Indians, who had been collected to accompany him. In his address to them, he endeavoured, with commendable humanity, and in utter ignorance, perhaps, of the futility of his efforts, to explain to them the difference between civilized and savage warfare, and strictly enjoined them to spare old men, women, and children. In a proclamation soon after addressed to the people whom he had come to subdue, he, in the language of bombast, magnified his own strength, reproved them for their offences, assured them that they could only find safety in submission, and threatened "to let loose upon them the thousands of Indians under his controul, who would penetrate into their most secret retreats, and punish with condign severity the hardened enemies of Great Britain." The effect of this proclamation was far different from that expected by its author. Its bombast and reproofs excited ridicule; its threats, indignation.

Ticonderoga stands a short distance in advance of Crown Point. Its fortifications were extensive and strong; but the garrison was insufficient to defend them against so powerful a force. The post was commanded by General St. Clair; and he knew that his superiors and the people supposed that he could, and expected that he would, make a resolute and a successful resistance. The desire to fulfil this expectation led to the greatest error of this campaign—not abandoning the post in season. Burgoyne appeared before it on the 1st of July; and his measures to invest it were planned with skill and pursued with energy and activity. A council of war, summoned by St. Clair, decided unanimously that it must be immediately abandoned. It was evacuated on the night of the 5th, the troops crossing Lake Champlain, and retreating towards Castleton, in Vermont. The enemy pursued, and on the morning of their 7th, the van overtook and attacked the American rear, under Colonels Francis and Warner. The action was warm and well contested; but, other troops arriving to the aid of the British, the Americans were compelled to give way.

The retreat now became precipitate and disorderly; the pursuit, rapid and persevering. At length, the republican

army, diminished in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by misfortunes, arrived, by various routes, at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, the head-quarters of General Schuyler. Seldom has a fugitive army suffered greater misery in flight. It is supposed that many died of fatigue and hunger in the woods. These disastrous events spread terror and dismay throughout the land. The people, ignorant of the weakness of the army, attributed its retreat to cowardice or treachery, and trembled at the dangers which menaced them from the British, Germans, and savages.

The royal forces, elated by success, proceeded through the wilderness towards Fort Edward. Their progress was slow and toilsome. General Schuyler, on their approach, evacuated the fort, and retired across the Hudson to Saratoga. Soon after, he descended to the river Stillwater; and, the British continuing to advance, he retreated, on the 14th of August, to the islands at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, a few miles north of Troy. About the same time, intelligence was received, that St. Leger had arrived at Fort Schuyler, and invested it.

The American general, before leaving Fort Edward, issued a proclamation calling to his aid the militia of New England and New York. Aroused by the danger, multitudes obeyed his call. Vermont poured forth her daring Green Mountain boys; the other states of New England, their hardy yeomanry, ardent in the cause of freedom; New York, her valiant sons indignant at this invasion of her territory, and determined to protect their property from pillage and destruction. These beset the invaders on every side, impeding their progress, cutting off their supplies, and fatiguing them by incessant attacks.

Burgoyne, finding it difficult to transport his provisions through the wilderness, despatched Colonel Baum, with five hundred Hessians, to seize a quantity of beef and flour which the Americans had collected and deposited at Bennington. Fortunately, General Stark, at the head of a party of New Hampshire militia had just arrived at that place, on his way to the main army, and been joined by volunteers from the immediate neighbourhood. Baum, ascertaining their number to be greater than his own, halted near Bennington, erected breast-works, and sent back for a reinforcement.

In several skirmishes between small detachments, the militia were uniformly successful. This sharpening their courage, Stark resolved to attack the main body. On the 16th of August, a fierce and sanguinary battle took place. For two hours, the Hessians fought bravely; but their works, assaulted by braver troops, were at length entered, and most of the detachment either killed or made prisoners.

Just after this action had terminated, Colonel Breyman arrived with the reinforcement sent to Baum. The militia, apprehending no danger, had dispersed in pursuit of plunder or the fugitives. By carelessness was nearly lost all that by valour had been gained. Happily, at this critical juncture, Colonel Warner arrived from Manchester with a Continental regiment, and immediately fell upon Breyman. The militia, rallying, hastened to his aid. The battle continued until sunset, when the enemy retreated, and under cover of the night the greater part effected their escape.

The tide of fortune was now turned. The decisive victory at Bennington diffused confidence and joy. The friends of independence, before depressed by disaster and defeat, were now animated by the prospect, which suddenly burst upon them, of a glorious victory over an arrogant and once dreaded enemy. The greatest zeal and activity were every where displayed. Again crowds of militia flocked to the republican camp.

In the mean time, St. Leger had pressed with vigour the siege of Fort Schuyler; but the garrison, under the command of Colonels Gansevoort and Willett, had defended it with great fortitude and bravery. Aware of the importance of the post, General Herkimer collected the militia of Tryon county, and marched to its relief. St. Leger, hearing of his approach, despatched a party of regulars and Indians to meet him. He advanced with culpable negligence, was waylaid, suddenly attacked with the usual fury of savages, and himself and four hundred others, among whom were the principal citizens of the county, inhumanly slaughtered.

Colonel Willett, apprised of the approach of Herkimer, made a sally from the fort on the day he was expected to reach it. He broke into the enemy's camp, drove them out of it into the woods, killed many, and returned without loss, bringing back besieging utensils and many other trophies of victory. Shortly after, he accomplished a still more hazardous enterprise. He, with a single companion, passed in the night through the camp of the besiegers, and travelled fifty miles, in a pathless wilderness, to convey information of the imminent danger of the garrison, and collect forces for its relief.

St. Leger announced to Colonel Gansevoort the victory he had gained over Herkimer, summoned him to surrender, and assured him, if he did not, that not only the garrison, but every man, woman, and child, in the Mohawk country, must fall victims to savage ferocity. This bravado failed to intimidate; it rather convinced Colonel Gansevoort of St. Leger's weakness. His Indian allies, in fact, wearied with the protracted labours of the siege, had become ungovernable, and threatened to leave him. At this time, General Arnold, sent by Schuyler,

was approaching, by the way of the Mohawk, with a large force, to the relief of the fort. Of this the Indians, by their scouts, soon gained intelligence. At the name of Arnold, they were seized with terror, and declared peremptorily to St. Leger, than they would retire alone, if he did not himself retreat. He soon found that he had no alternative. On the 22d of August, abandoning his baggage and stores, he began a precipitate flight towards Lake Oneida, the regulars suffering on the way, from their Indian allies, cruelties almost equal to those usually inflicted by savages upon their enemies. Intelligence of the result of the siege soon came to cheer the American forces on the Hudson.

The disasters which befell this army at the commencement of the campaign induced congress to recall the generals who commanded it, and to appoint, in their places, Generals Gates, Lincoln, and Arnold. Having the control of more abundant and powerful means, they acted with more energy and boldness. Gates, leaving the encampment on the islands, to which Schuyler had retreated, advanced, in the beginning of September, to the neighbourhood of Stillwater.

Burgoyne, after the defeat of Baum, was obliged to have recourse, for provisions, to the magazines at Fort George. The laborious task of transporting them through the wilderness to the Hudson being accomplished, he moved forward, and, on the 17th of September, encamped within four miles of the American army.

The next day, the first battle of Stillwater was fought. It was begun by skirmishes between the scouting parties of the two armies, which were respectively and repeatedly reinforced, until nearly the whole of each was engaged. Both fought with determined resolution; they alternately drove and were driven by each other. A continual blaze of fire was kept up. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment and on every side. Night put an end to the conflict.

The American army retired to their camp; the British lay on their arms near the field of battle. The loss of the former was three hundred and nineteen, that of the latter exceeded five hundred. Each claimed the victory. The consequences of defeat were felt by the British alone. Their hopes of success were diminished; their Indian allies, the Canadians, and Tories, were disheartened, and deserted them.

Pressed on all sides, Burgoyne made frequent and urgent applications to Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, for aid, and informed him that, in expectation of such aid, he would maintain his present position until the 12th of October. He diminished the allowance of provisions to his soldiers, and having waited until the 7th, without receiving any intelligence

from Clinton, determined to make another trial of strength with his adversary.

He made dispositions to commence the action with the right wing of his army; Gates, discovering his design, made a sudden and vigorous attack upon the left. In a short time, the whole of both armies were engaged. This battle was furious, obstinate, and more bloody than the other. Arnold was eminently distinguished for his bravery and rashness. Towards night, the enemy, who had fought with desperate valour, gave way. A part of their works were stormed and taken, and more than two hundred men made prisoners.

Darkness put an end to this action also. The Americans lay upon their arms near the enemy's lines, intending to renew the battle the next day; but Burgoyne, during the night, withdrew to a stronger position. Gates forbore to pursue, believing that a bloodless victory was now in his power.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton despatched General Vaughan with three thousand men, to endeavour to relieve Burgoyne. He ascended the Hudson, and, on the 6th of October, assaulted and took Fort Montgomery; but, instead of hastening forward, he consumed a whole week in pillaging and burning Esopus, and other flourishing villages on the river. He perhaps expected that this wanton destruction of property would draw off a part of the forces under Gates; but it had no other effect than to exasperate the inhabitants.

Burgoyne, perceiving that his antagonist was endeavouring to surround them, retreated to the heights of Saratoga. The Americans pursued, keeping a sufficient force on the east bank of the river to prevent him from crossing. The situation of the British troops was now distressing in the extreme. Many of their most valued officers had been killed. Their strength was exhausted by incessant exertion; they were almost encircled by their enemy, and were greatly annoyed by a continual and destructive cannonade. From this forlorn condition but one mode of escape remained—a forced march in the night to Fort George. This expedient was resolved on, and preparations were made; but the scouts sent out returned with intelligence that all the passes were guarded by strong bodies of militia.

An account of provisions was then taken, and a supply for no more than three days was found on hand. No hope of rescue within that time could be indulged. Burgoyne summoned his principal officers to a council. It is said that, while deliberating, a cannon ball crossed the table around which they sat. By their unanimous advice, he opened a negotiation with the American general, and, on the 17th of October, surrendered his whole army prisoners of war.

Great were the rejoicings occasioned by this glorious vic-

tory. Many supposed that it would terminate the contest. In the joy of success, all feelings of resentment were forgotten. From regard to the feelings of the vanquished, General Gates, while they were piling their arms, kept the victorious troops within his camp. The British officers, in social converse with the Americans, were led to forget their misfortune; and the troops, when on their march to Massachusetts, did not receive from the people that vindictive treatment which their distressing depredations, and those of their fellow-soldiers under Vaughan, would have excused, if not justified.

Against this band of marauders General Gates marched soon after the capitulation was signed; but, on learning the fate of Burgoyne, they retired to New York. About the same time, the garrison left at Ticonderoga, having rendered their cannon useless, returned to Canada, and the northern department was restored to perfect tranquility.

While the exertions of the northern army were rewarded by brilliant success, that stationed in Pennsylvania, equally brave and meritorious, but exhausted by fatigue and suffering, and enfeebled by detachments which Washington generously spared to Gates, sustained further reverses. We left it encamped on the north bank of the Schuylkill, near Pottsgrove; it afterwards moved down to Skippack Creek, about sixteen miles from Germantown, where the main body of the British army was stationed. General Washington, having learnt that small detachments had been made from the latter, determined to attack it.

On the 3d of October, at seven o'clock in the evening, his army, in divisions, moved, by several roads, towards Germantown. These different divisions were directed to attack different parts of the British encampment, which was somewhat extensive. The march was rapid and silent; but intelligence of their approach was received by the enemy, by three o'clock the next morning, when they were immediately paraded. At sunrise, the first division of the Americans, under General Sullivan, arrived and made a bold and vigorous attack. So spirited was the onset, that the enemy, unable to sustain it, fled. But six British companies, while retreating, took possession of a large stone house, from which, in entire safety, they poured a destructive fire upon the American troops. A portion of the latter assaulted this fortress, and the remainder continued the pursuit of the retreating forces. The second division, under General Greene, came into the field, attacked and drove the enemy, and a complete victory appeared in prospect.

But the American troops, pursuing over uneven ground, separated into small parties, very thick fog arose, and each party lost sight of the enemy. Unacquainted with the ground, with deci-

sion, they faltered in the pursuit. The fugitives rallied; the division destined against the British left not having arrived, a brigade from that wing came to their assistance; and the Americans in their turn retreated, but withdrew from the field in good order, and returned without molestation to their late encampment.

In this action, in which fortune snatched victory from the grasp of the Americans, they sustained a loss of twelve hundred men; that of the British was less than six hundred. But the vanquished sustained no loss of reputation nor confidence. Their country applauded the boldness of the attempt, and the enemy felt higher respect for their courage and discipline.

The British army soon after left Germantown, and marched to attack the American posts on the River Delaware below Philadelphia. On the 22d of October, a body of twelve hundred Hessians, commanded by Count Donop, made an intrepid assault upon the fortifications at Red Bank. They were repulsed with great loss, and their gallant leader killed.

Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, was next attacked. For six days it was bravely defended. It was then evacuated, the works having been almost demolished by the enemy's artillery. Preparations being made for a second assault, with a much larger force, upon the post at Red Bank, that was also evacuated; and thus was opened a free communication between the British army and their fleet, which had sailed round to the mouth of the Delaware.

After several movements of the respective armies, which had no important result, General Washington withdrew to winter quarters in the woods of Valley Forge. His troops were destitute of shoes, and might have been tracked by the blood of their feet. They passed the winter in huts, suffered extreme distress from want of clothing and of food, but endured their privations without a murmur. How strong must have been their love of liberty! With what lively gratitude ought a prosperous country, indebted to them for the most valuable blessings, to remember their sufferings and services!

CHAPTER XXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

WHEN the Continental congress was first constituted, it possessed no other powers than such as were conferred by the credentials and instructions given, by the state legislatures, to their respective delegates. In the ardour of the contest, the inquiry was seldom made whether, in all cases, the au-

thority which it exercised, had been specifically granted; but the members preferred that the extent and limit of their own powers should be more exactly defined. Early in 1776, the resolution to declare the colonies independent having been agreed to, but before the declaration was adopted, a committee, consisting of a member from each colony, was appointed to report a plan of union or confederation.

The plan was reported in July, and remained under the consideration of congress until near the close of the last year. The points upon which agreement was most difficult were, the mode of voting in congress; the rule for apportioning among the states the expenses of the Union; and the right to the ungranted or crown lands, especially in those states whose charter limits extended to the Mississippi or Pacific Ocean.

The plan gave to each state one vote, according to the regulation then in force. Some members insisted that every state should have the right to send delegates according to the number of its white inhabitants, or to the amount of its contributions, and that each delegate should have a vote. A majority at length adopted the proposition of the committee.

The committee reported that the expenses of the Union should be borne by the states according to the number of white inhabitants in each. In congress, in committee of the whole, a majority decided that they should be apportioned according to the whole number of inhabitants, excluding Indians. Slaves being included, those states in which they were most numerous, were much dissatisfied with this decision, and finally induced a majority of the states to agree that the expenses should be apportioned according to the value of the land, buildings, and improvements.

In the plan reported, nothing was proposed in relation to the western lands. Some of the members pertinaciously insisted that, as those lands were the property of the crown, and would, if independence was obtained, be wrested from it by united efforts, and at the common expense, they ought to become the joint property of the whole confederacy. Those states within whose charter limits lay the most extensive tracts of these lands, strenuously resisted this reasonable claim, and finally compelled a majority of the states to assent to a union without making any provision in regard to them.

The "Articles of Confederation" were adopted in congress, on the 15th of November, and immediately transmitted to the several states for their ratification. They bound the states in a firm league of friendship with each other, for the common defence and the security of their liberties. Delegates, not less than two nor more than seven from a state, were to be annually appointed, who, when assembled in congress, were authorized to carry on war, to make peace, to borrow money, to emit bills of credit, and to exercise all the powers

of sovereignty in relation to foreign nations. They were also authorized to determine the number of men and the amount of money to be raised, and to assign to each state its just proportion. And the Articles contained many other regulations of minor importance.

But so unwilling were the individual states to relinquish their recently-assumed independence, that they withheld from congress the authority to make laws which should operate directly upon the people; they granted to it no control over commerce; and they reserved to themselves the right to raise their proportions of money in such a manner as each might deem most expedient. They gave to congress the right to make requisitions, but no power to compel obedience.

In the late campaign, the troops had suffered severely from the want of provisions and clothing: and censure fell heavily upon the commissary department. That department, in all countries and in all wars, affords the most opportunities for peculation; and though the war of the revolution had patriotism for its motive, and liberty for its object, some, doubtless, engaged in it from love of gain, and sought to grow rich by cheating the soldier or defrauding the country. That the instances of corruption were fewer than was suspected is probable. Congress, however, made a thorough reform in the department, appointing Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Connecticut, commissary-general. And in order to introduce into the army a uniform system of tactics and discipline, they resolved that an inspector-general should be appointed. Subsequently they elected to that office the Baron Steuben, a native of Prussia, who had served in a high station in the army of Frederic the Great, and was well versed in the system of manœuvres introduced by that celebrated commander.

The misfortunes, in the last campaign, of the army under Washington, contrasted with the brilliant achievement of that of the north, furnished to the friends of other prominent officers an opportunity to whisper doubts of his energy and military talents; and such doubts were, with less caution, uttered by some who were ardent in their zeal, but ignorantly considered success the only test of merit. That a project was formed to procure his dismissal is believed; but with whom it originated, or who gave it countenance, has never been clearly ascertained. Lee, who had lately been exchanged, and Gates, were alluded to as possessing more qualities essential in a commander-in-chief. A loud and hearty expression of confidence in the integrity and capacity of Washington silenced at once those timid whispers, and reproved the utterance of all honest doubts.

The signal victory at Saratoga exalted the reputation of the American republic in every part of Europe. The French ministry, apprehensive, doubtless, that Great Britain might

now offer such favourable terms of pacification as would induce the colonies, if not powerfully supported, to resume their connection with the empire, no longer hesitated to acknowledge their independence. On the 6th of February, they concluded, with the American commissioners, treaties of commerce and of alliance, in which they assented to terms highly advantageous to the States. The news of this important event, rendering almost certain the successful issue of the contest, occasioned in America the liveliest joy, and the most ardent gratitude to France.

Among the people of Great Britain, the defeat of their favourite general produced astonishment, dismay, and indignation. The most brilliant success was anticipated; the most ignominious result had occurred. The pride of the nation was humbled, and they who had disapproved of the war poured upon the ministry a torrent of invective. To increase the bitterness of their chagrin, they soon learned the course which their hereditary enemy and rival had resolved to pursue.

It was now determined, in the cabinet, to grant to America all that she had demanded in the beginning of the contest. An act was passed, declaring that parliament would not, in future, impose any tax upon the colonies; and commissioners were sent over authorized to proclaim a repeal of all the offensive statutes, and to treat with the constituted authorities of America.

The commissioners, arriving at Philadelphia in the spring, communicated to congress the terms offered by Great Britain, which were at once unanimously rejected. Failing in the use of direct and honourable means, they attempted bribery and corruption. To Joseph Reed, a general in the army and a member of congress, an offer was made of ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office within his majesty's gift in the colonies, if he would endeavour to effect a re-union of the two countries. "I am not worth purchasing," he nobly replied, "but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

On receiving official notification of the treaties concluded with her revolted colonies, Great Britain declared war against France; and the ministry, presuming that assistance would be sent them, transmitted orders by the commissioners, that Philadelphia should be evacuated, and the royal troops concentrated at New York. The execution of these orders devolved upon Sir Henry Clinton, who, General Howe having resigned, had been appointed commander-in-chief. On the 18th of June, the enemy quitted the city, and moved slowly eastward.

Washington, leaving the rear of the British, sought a favourable opportunity

to attack the rear of the British, and sought a favourable opportunity

measure to a council of war; but the majority, in both cases, decided against it. He determined, however, to make the attack on his own responsibility. Lee, being senior major-general, could have claimed the command of the front division; but, as he had given his advice against hazarding an action, he yielded his claim to La Fayette. That general was therefore ordered to advance, at the head of four thousand men, and be ready to attack the rear, and smaller bodies were sent forward to fall on the flanks of the enemy.

After La Fayette began his march, Lee, changing his mind, solicited the command which at first he had declined. Washington, in consequence, sent him forward, with two additional brigades, stipulating, however, that if, before his arrival, La Fayette had determined on any particular movement, he should still retain the command. At this time, the enemy were stationed on commanding ground, near Monmouth courthouse, in New Jersey; and Lee was ordered to keep his troops in readiness to fall on their rear, as soon as they should leave that position.

At five in the morning of the 28th of June, intelligence was received that the front of the British army was in motion. Lee was immediately ordered to move on and commence an attack, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary;" and was assured that the main army would be on its march to support him. He moved forward accordingly, but soon received information, which, after going forward to reconnoitre, he believed to be true, that Clinton, with his whole force, was marching back to attack him. He gave orders to retreat to a stronger position, which he had just passed over; but of this movement, and the object of it, he sent no information to Washington. The enemy soon came up, and pressed vigorously on his rear. Washington, hastening forward to support Lee, soon met the advance of the retiring party, and could learn from them no reason for the retreat. He hastened to Lee, who was in the rear, then engaged with the enemy, and addressed him with warmth, in words implying disapprobation of his conduct; but, soon recovering his serenity, gave orders which Lee executed with fidelity and bravery. The action continued, the Americans gaining slight advantages in various parts of the field, until Sir Henry Clinton withdrew, collecting his forces on ground so strong that Washington, the day being almost spent, concluded not to assail it. He made preparations, however, to renew the battle in the morning.

But the British general determined not to await an attack. Early in the night, he silently left his position, and proceeded on his way to New York. As the country, through which lay the remainder of his route, was more favourable to a retreating than to a pursuing army, Washington forbore to follow. Clinton was satisfied that he had checked his pursuers, and es-

caped from their annoyance. The Americans insisted that the battle had terminated in their favour. The number of men in each army was about equal. The Americans lost three hundred, the British five hundred men. Heat and excessive fatigue proved fatal to many.

Lee, irritable and proud, could not forget the manner in which Washington had addressed him; and wrote to him two passionate letters, in which, in the tone of a superior, he demanded reparation. Washington, in reply, assured him that, as soon as circumstances would permit, he should have an opportunity to justify his conduct before a court of inquiry. Lee insisted on being tried immediately by a court-martial. He was accordingly brought to trial, charged with disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy; with making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat; and with disrespect to the commander-in-chief in the two letters addressed to him. The court found him guilty on all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from command for one year; which sentence congress, though with some hesitation, approved almost unanimously. He was suspected of being willing, at least, that Washington should continue to be unsuccessful; what influence this suspicion had on the court can be only the subject of conjecture. That he was clearly guilty of the last charge rendered his sentence acceptable to the army and the people, who, devotedly attached to the commander-in-chief, could tolerate no one who treated him with arrogance and disrespect. He never afterwards joined the army, but died in seclusion just before the close of the war.

The enemy having entered New York, Washington conducted his army to White Plains. Congress returned to Philadelphia; and in July received, with inexpressible joy, a letter from the count d'Estaing, announcing his arrival on the coast of the United States, with a large fleet, which had been sent, by the king of France, to assist them in their struggle for independence.

The count intended to surprise Admiral Howe in the Delaware; but adverse winds detained him on the passage, until the British fleet had sailed for New York. He appeared before that harbour, but, on sounding, found that his largest ships could not enter it. A combined attack, by land and water, upon the British forces at Newport, in Rhode Island, was then projected.

General Sullivan, who had been appointed to command the troops, called upon the militia of New England to aid him in the enterprise. His army soon amounted to ten thousand men; and, as he was supported by the fleet, he felt confident of success. On the 9th of August he took a position on the north end of Rhode Island, and moved nearer to Newport. Admiral Howe, on receiving intelligence of this reinforcement, now

appeared before the harbour ; and the count instantly put to sea to attack him.

While making the preparatory manœuvres, a furious storm came on, which damaged and dispersed both fleets. As soon as the weather would permit, each commander sought the port from which he had sailed. The army, intent upon their own object, witnessed with joy the return of the French fleet ; and great was their disappointment when the count announced his intention of proceeding to Boston to refit. The American officers remonstrated ; but he was inflexible, and departed.

The army, deserted by the fleet, could remain no longer, with safety, on the island, as the enemy might easily transport, by water, large reinforcements from New York to Newport. General Sullivan immediately retreated to his first position. He was pursued, and shortly after halting, was attacked by the enemy. They were gallantly resisted, and repulsed with loss.

The next day, the two armies cannonaded each other ; and, the succeeding night, the American general, deceiving the enemy by a show of resistance to the last, made a skilful retreat to the continent. A few hours afterwards, the British received such an augmentation of their force, that all resistance, on the part of the Americans, would have been vain. At the close of the season, the French fleet sailed to the West Indies.

The king of France, having acknowledged the independence of the United States, sent M. Gerard as his minister plenipotentiary to the congress. On the 6th of August, he had his first public audience of that body. All the members, the authorities of Pennsylvania, many officers of the army and strangers of note, were present. The minister delivered his credentials, signed by Louis XVI., and directed to his "very dear great friends and allies," made a speech, and was answered by Henry Laurens, then president of the congress. In September, Benjamin Franklin was appointed sole minister plenipotentiary to the French court. Gerard, in consequence of ill health, soon after returned home, and the chevalier de la Luzerne was appointed to succeed him.

During this year, the British troops and their allies displayed, in several instances, a degree of barbarity seldom equalled in contests between civilized nations. That they were contending against revolted subjects, seemed to release them, in their view, from all regard to the common usages of war. The late alliance with France, the hated rival of their nation, increased their hostility. Instead of striving to conquer an honourable foe, they thirsted as for vengeance on a criminal and outlaw.

With such vindictive feelings, Wyoming, a happy and flourishing settlement in Pennsylvania, was attacked by a band of Tories and Indians. The men were butchered, the houses

burned, and the cattle driven off or killed. Those who had been made widows or orphans were left without shelter and without food. Seldom has war spread distress and ruin over a more delightful region. New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard, Egg Harbour, and Cherry Valley, were also visited and ravaged by the enemy. All the property within reach was destroyed, and multitudes of peaceful and unoffending inhabitants were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

But in no instance did the enemy evince more ferocious, unrelenting cruelty, than in their attack upon Colonel Taylor's troop of light dragoons. While asleep in a barn at Tappaan, they were surprised by a party under General Grey, who commanded his soldiers to use the bayonet only, and to give the rebels no quarters. Incapable of defence, they sued for mercy. But the most pathetic supplications were heard without awakening compassion in the commander. Nearly one half of the troop were killed. To many, repeated thrusts were barbarously given as long as signs of life remained. Several who had nine, ten, and eleven stabs through the body, and were left for dead, afterwards recovered. A few escaped, and forty were saved by the humanity of a British captain, who dared to disobey the orders of his general.

Late in the fall, the army under Washington erected huts near Middlebrook, in New Jersey, in which they passed the winter. In this campaign, but little on either side was accomplished. The alliance with France gave birth to expectations which events did not fulfil; yet the presence of her fleets on the coast deranged the plans of the enemy, and induced them to relinquish a part of their conquests. At the close of the year, it was apparent that Great Britain had made no progress in the accomplishment of her purposes.

The Articles of Confederation, which, in November last, were adopted in congress, were soon after taken into consideration by the several state legislatures. They were ratified by all except New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland; but several of the states ratifying them made some objections to some of the articles, and proposed alterations. New Jersey declined, and gave for her reasons—that no oath was required to be taken by the delegates to the congress; that the power to regulate commerce was reserved to the state; that the congress was prohibited from keeping up a standing army in time of peace; that the ungranted lands were not declared to be the property of the union; and that, in apportioning the troops to the defence of the union, no regard was made to the proportion of white and black inhabitants; that the power of raising money by direct taxation was not reserved to the states; that the congress was not authorized to declare war; that the union should be perpetual; that the congress was not authorized to declare war; that the union should be perpetual; that the congress was not authorized to declare war; that the union should be perpetual.

states would, in due time, remove as far as possible, the inequality" which she complained of. Subsequently, Delaware ratified the Articles, protesting, at the same time, that the western lands ought to become the property of all the states. Maryland persisted in refusing until New York and Virginia had made a partial relinquishment of their claims to those lands; and then, in 1781, she, by adding her ratification, gave efficient existence to the confederation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

THE campaign of 1779 was distinguished by a change in the theatre of war from the northern to the southern section of the confederacy. That portion had not yet been ravaged; it yielded in greater abundance products essential to the support of an army; it was rendered more easy to conquer by its scattered population, by the multitude of slaves, and by the greater proportion of Tories among the inhabitants.

Near the close of the last year, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, sailed from New York to the coast of Georgia, and landed his troops. Marching towards Savannah, the capital, he met, posted on a narrow causeway, a small body of American troops, whom he attacked and dispersed. Near the city, on the main road, with a swamp in front and the river on the left, a large body was stationed, under the command of General Howe. While Campbell was making arrangements to dislodge these, a negro offered to show him a private path which led by their right. A detachment was sent round by this path; and a simultaneous attack was made upon the American front and rear. One hundred were killed; the rest were made prisoners; and the city then surrendered to the victors.

General Prevost, with a body of royal troops, was stationed in East Florida. When the detachment was sent from New York, orders were sent to him to enter Georgia, and act in concert with Campbell. Traversing an intermediate desert, he, after suffering many hardships, appeared before the fort, at Sudbury, the commander of which, having learnt the fate of the capital, surrendered it into his power. Prevost then marched to Savannah, and assumed the command of all the British forces in the state. As many of the American troops as could escape, fled into South Carolina.

Soon after the conquest of Georgia, General Lincoln took the command of the American troops in the southern department. He established his head-quarters at Purisburg, on

north side of the Savannah river. The British then placed a detachment of their army at Ebenezer, on the south side, and afterwards another, higher up at Augusta. By means of these posts, they were able to control the whole state of Georgia, and keep up a communication with their Indian allies and the Tories in the interior.

To cut off this communication, Lincoln sent General Ash, with a body of fifteen hundred men, mostly militia, to take possession of a strong position on Brier Creek, above Ebenezer. He had been there but a few days when General Prevost determined to dislodge them. He sent a small party to occupy their attention in front; at the head of another, he made a circuit of fifty miles, and fell on their rear. Some of the American troops fought bravely, but they were soon overpowered; a part fled; about three hundred were killed or made prisoners, and the enemy obtained possession of the post.

It was the wish of Lincoln to confine the enemy to the sea-coast. To effect this object, he, in April, left Parisburg, and marched up the north side of the Savannah, intending to cross it near Augusta, and then march down towards the capital. Soon after he set out, Prevost crossed the river into South Carolina, and advanced towards Charleston. He hoped by this movement to recall Lincoln; but not succeeding in this, and being assured by the Tories who accompanied him, that Charleston contained many loyalists, who would declare themselves the moment he appeared before it, he determined to proceed thither and attack it. As soon as Lincoln perceived that he was in earnest, he hastened, by rapid marches, to defend it. Prevost appeared before the city, and summoned it to surrender. The citizens, expecting the immediate arrival of Lincoln, opened a negotiation, which they contrived to protract through the day. In the night, the British general, hearing nothing from any loyalists in the city, and learning that the van of the American army had arrived, began a retreat. A part of his troops were conveyed to the islands south of Charleston, and near the coast; the remainder took post at Stono Ferry. These Lincoln attacked; but, being protected by fortifications, and fighting bravely, they repelled him. Soon after, the enemy, leaving a body of troops on the Island of Port Royal, re-occupied Savannah, and the Americans encamped near Beaufort.

The atrocities committed, in this excursion, by the British and Tories, gave to the people of South Carolina a foretaste of the miseries which afterwards afflicted the whole south.— Their houses were plundered of plate, furniture, and ornaments: *B* were killed; their elegant gardens were laid waste: *the* slaves, who willingly assisted in plunder, were eager to disclose where property was hid, and were hurried off in great numbers.

The heat of the season suspended further operations until September. Count d'Estaing, with a fleet carrying six thousand troops, then arrived on the coast. The two armies, in concert, laid siege to Savannah. At the expiration of a month, the count, impatient of delay, insisted that the siege should be abandoned, or that a combined assault upon the enemy's works should be immediately made. General Lincoln determined upon an assault. Great gallantry was displayed by the French and American, but greater by the British troops. They repulsed the assailants with killing and wounding nearly a thousand men, and sustaining on their part but little loss.—The Count Pulaski, a celebrated Polish nobleman, in the service of the States, was mortally wounded. The next day the siege was raised, the French returning home, and the Americans to South Carolina.

In the midst of these events, Sir Henry Clinton despatched from New York an expedition against Virginia. The naval force was commanded by Commodore Collier; the troops, consisting of two thousand men, by General Matthews. On the 10th of May, they took possession of Portsmouth, soon after of Norfolk, then of Suffolk, and visited other places of less note. Their progress was marked by cruelty and devastation. Many ships were burnt; and the inhabitants were plundered of large quantities of tobacco, salted provisions and other stores.—“What sort of war is this?” asked the Virginians of the English. “In this manner,” they replied, “we are commanded to treat all who refuse to obey the king.” The commanders were desirous of remaining in Virginia; but Clinton, having an enterprise in view at New York, sent them explicit orders to return. He had the credit of executing unwillingly the orders which he received from home, to endeavour to reduce the people to subjection by devastation and plunder.

The Americans had constructed two strong forts nearly opposite each other on the Hudson, one at Verplank's Point, on the eastern, the other at Stony Point, on the western bank.—These posts Clinton had determined to attack. As soon as Collier returned, he transported up the river two bodies of troops, one destined against each of these forts. On the approach of the enemy, Stony Point was evacuated. Verplank's Point was vigorously defended; but a cannonade being opened upon it from Stony Point and Collier's squadron, and the enemy having completely invested it by land, it surrendered. Clinton directed that the works at Stony Point should be strengthened, and, leaving a garrison there, collected the main body of his army at Philipsburgh, where he formed an encampment. Neither he nor Washington was willing to hazard a general battle.

Early in the season, Colonel Clarke, of Virginia, who was stationed at Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, achieved an enter-

prise conspicuous for boldness of design, and evincing uncommon hardihood in its execution. With only one hundred and thirty men, he penetrated through the wilderness to St. Vincent's, a British post on the Wabash, in the heart of the Indian country. His road lay across deep swamps and morasses.—For four or five hours the party waded through water, often as high as the breast. After a march of sixteen days, they reached the town, which, having no intimation of their approach, surrendered without resistance. A short time after, the fort capitulated. This fortunate achievement arrested an expedition which the enemy had projected against the frontiers of Virginia, and detached several tribes of Indians from the British interest.

The atrocities committed at Wyoming, and at several settlements in New York, cried aloud for vengeance. Congress, assembling an army of four thousand men, gave the command of it to General Sullivan, and directed him to conduct it into the country inhabited by the savages, and retort upon them their own system of warfare. Of this army, one division marched from the Mohawk, the other from Wyoming; and both, forming a junction on the Susquehannah, proceeded, on the 22d of August, towards the Seneca Lake.

On an advantageous position, the Indians, in conjunction with two hundred Tories, had erected fortifications to oppose their progress. These were assaulted; the enemy, after a slight resistance, gave way, and disappeared in the woods.—As the army advanced into the western part of the state of New York,—that region now so fertile and populous,—the Indians deserted their towns, the appearance of which denoted a higher state of civilization than had ever before been witnessed in the North American wilderness. The houses were commodious; the apple and peach trees numerous, and the crops of corn then growing abundant. All were destroyed; not a vestige of human industry was permitted to exist.

Having accomplished this work of vengeance, severe but deserved, and essential to the future safety of the whites, General Sullivan returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania, where he arrived about the middle of October. His whole loss, by sickness and the enemy, amounted to but forty men.

The ports of Connecticut, on the Sound, sheltered and sent forth a large number of privateers, which captured almost every British vessel that appeared in the neighbouring waters, and of course prevented supplies intended for the enemy from reaching New York. On the 1st of July, General Tryon led an expedition against these ports. He plundered New Haven, and burnt all the shipping he found in the harbour. He then visited Fairfield, Green Farms, and Norwalk, which he plundered, and then set them on fire. At these three places, on

hundred and eighty houses, five churches, many barns and out-houses, and several vessels and mills were burnt.

While Tryon was absent on this marauding expedition, General Washington formed the project of recovering Stony Point. This fort, by the constant labour of the enemy, had been much strengthened, and was well furnished with artillery. Giving to General Wayne the command of a detachment, consisting chiefly of troops from New England, he entrusted him with the execution of his plan. Wayne divided his force into two columns, intending to make the attack at opposite points. About midnight, the troops, with unloaded muskets, arrived before the lines. They were received with a tremendous discharge of grape-shot and musketry. But both columns mounted the walls, poured into the fort, fought their way with the bayonet, met in the centre, and the victory was complete.

A more gallant exploit has seldom been performed; and the humanity of the victors was equal to their valour. Notwithstanding the devastations in Connecticut, and the butchery of Baylor's troop, the scene of which was near, not an individual suffered after resistance had ceased. Of the enemy, sixty were killed, and upwards of five hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans was comparatively small. A gold medal, presented by congress, rewarded the heroism of the victor.

In June, Colonel M'Lean, with six hundred and fifty men from Nova Scotia, took possession of a strong position at Penobscot, and began to erect fortifications. Massachusetts, alarmed at this invasion of her territory, equipped a fleet and raised an army to dislodge them. General Lovell commanded the troops, mostly militia, and Captain Saltonsfall the fleet, which consisted of about twenty vessels, besides transports.—The army landed, and, after a sharp contest, drove the enemy from one of their strongest outposts. General Lovell, believing himself too weak to assault their main works, sent home for a reinforcement. While waiting for this, he learnt that Commodore Collier was approaching with a strong force, and made a precipitate retreat. Better would it have been for him had he awaited the enemy, and fought them manfully. The ships, endeavouring to escape, were intercepted, driven up the Penobscot, and burnt. The soldiers and sailors, returning to their homes through dismal solitudes and pathless forests, endured distress from exposure, fatigue, and want. The commanders were severely censured for not pursuing their first advantage, and for their hasty and disorderly retreat.

In September, a bloody naval battle was fought, near the coast of Scotland, in which John Paul Jones acquired the reputation of a daring and fortunate commander. He was a Scotchman by birth, but had been appointed, by the American congress, a captain in their navy, and then commanded a

squadron fitted out in the ports of France. At half-past seven in the evening, his own ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, of forty guns, engaged the *Serapis*, a British frigate, of forty-four.—After the action had continued an hour, the two frigates approached so near to each other, that Jones, seizing the opportunity, lashed them together.

The battle now became furious, and the carnage horrible.—The *Serapis* was on fire not less than ten times; and often both frigates were on fire at the same moment, presenting a sublime and dreadful spectacle. At length the *Alliance*, one of Jones's squadron, came to his assistance; but the two frigates, being fastened together, many of her shot struck the *Bon Homme Richard*. At ten o'clock the *Serapis* surrendered. Her successful antagonist was so shattered, that the crew were obliged to leave her immediately, and she soon after sunk. Of the crew of the American ship, one hundred and fifty, of that of the *Serapis*, about the same number, were killed or wounded. The *Pallas*, which was also of Jones's squadron, engaged, at the same time, and captured, the *Countess of Scarborough*. The squadron, with the prizes, then sailed for Holland, and there arrived in safety.

For a long time, France and the United States had solicited Spain to engage in the war. She hesitated, her feelings urging her to war, and her interests counselling peace. She was extremely desirous of humbling Great Britain; but she dreaded the effect which the independence of the United States would have on her contiguous American provinces. For reasons which can only be conjectured, she offered her mediation to Great Britain, France, and the United States. France accepted it, and strongly urged the United States to do so also. Subsequent developments justify the conclusion that, had all accepted it, she would have recommended that the independence of the United States should be acknowledged; that the Alleghany mountains should be their western boundary; and that the Newfoundland fisheries should be secured to France. The United States hesitated, and Great Britain finally refused. Spain, then, urged by France, and impelled by her hostile feelings, declared war against Great Britain, enumerating in her manifesto one hundred offences, none of which, nor all together, would have been considered sufficient cause of war, by an enlightened statesman. Had she simply declared that it was just to punish the arrogance of Great Britain, and expedient, for the safety of all nations, to destroy her great maritime superiority, she would have stood justified, perhaps, in the opinion of the world. Immediately a combined French and Spanish fleet, consisting of sixty-six ships of the line, and a cloud of frigates and smaller vessels, appeared in the Bre seas. It spread a lively alarm throughout the nation. sickness on board soon obliged her to return into port.

The alliance with France and the accession of Spain to the war had an unfavourable effect upon the principles and character of the American republicans. Sustained by foreign strength, they ceased to rely upon themselves. No formidable danger aroused and concentrated their exertions. Moreover, that lofty spirit of patriotism, which impels man to form holy resolutions; which purifies the heart of all selfish motives; which, when his country is in peril, hides from the citizen every other object, and shows that lovely and glorious,—had lost much of its vigour in the wearisome contest; and in its place had sprung up the desire of repose, the love of gain, the petty ambition for office, and the selfish wish to cast on others the burdens which all had borne so long. Washington and the leading patriots of the time saw and lamented this; but their appeals failed to arouse the people from their apathy. Recruits came in slowly; the army dwindled, and its commanders felt themselves almost abandoned in the midst of that country which they were striving to make free and independent.

At the close of the season the northern army, having effected nothing of importance, retired into winter quarters—one division near Morristown, in New Jersey, the other in the vicinity of West Point, an important post in the high lands on the Hudson. Here they endured severe and constant distress from cold, and nakedness, and hunger. Sometimes half the usual allowance, often less, was distributed to the troops; and more than once the provisions were wholly exhausted. Applications for relief were made to the magistrates of the neighbourhood, and intimations were given that, so pressing were the wants of the army, provisions would be seized by force, if not furnished voluntarily. The magistrates promptly attended to the call. They seized provisions wherever they found a surplus beyond the necessities of the owner, and thus saved the army from starvation.

Derangement in the finances produced these sufferings. Large sums had been annually raised and expended; and the ability of the people to pay taxes had progressively decreased. To supply deficiencies, paper money, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, had been issued. This gradually depreciated, and, on the close of 1779, thirty dollars in paper were of no more value than one in specie. To purchase provisions with this money was at first difficult, and then impossible; and congress now found their funds and their credit exhausted.

A change of system was necessary. For the supply of the army, each state was directed to furnish a certain quantity of provisions and forage. Loans were solicited from the people, and nearly a million of dollars was raised by bills drawn upon the American agents in Europe, in anticipation of loans which

they had been authorized to procure. These expedients afforded but temporary and partial relief.

No class of persons suffered more from the depreciation of paper money than the army, and especially the officers. The pay, even of those of the highest grade, was rendered insufficient to provide them with necessary clothing. Discontent began to pervade the whole army. It required all the enthusiastic patriotism which distinguishes the soldier of principle; all the ardent attachment to freedom which brought them into the field; all the influence of the commander-in-chief, whom they almost adored, to retain in the service men who felt themselves cruelly neglected by the country whose battles they fought.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

THE French fleet having returned home after the termination of the siege of Savannah, the Southern States were left almost defenceless. The Continental troops under the command of General Lincoln amounted to no more than one thousand men fit for duty. Sir Henry Clinton, aware of the true state of that portion of the confederacy, determined to attempt the reduction of Charleston, believing that in its fate would be involved that of the whole of South Carolina. In December, 1779, taking with him about seven thousand men, he sailed from New York for Savannah. One of his transports was captured; and from the prisoners the first information was obtained of his design. In February, leaving Savannah, he landed on St. John's Island; and the fleet was stationed before the harbour of Charleston to blockade it.

Immediate efforts were made to place the city in a posture of defence. The assembly, which was then sitting, delegated to Governor Rutledge, a patriot of splendid talents, and to his council, "the power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except taking away the life of a citizen," and adjourned. Power almost unlimited being thus placed in few hands, vigorous efforts were made to call into action the strength of the state, for the protection of its capital. Six hundred slaves were set to work on the fortifications, and the militia of the country were summoned to repair to the standard of Lincoln. The hope was indulged that, by the aid of these, and of the promised reinforcements from the north, the city would be able to withstand the forces of Clinton. Yet, fearing the small-pox, then known to prevail in the city, two hundred only of the militia of

the summons of her governor. When the troops of all kinds had arrived, the forces under Lincoln consisted only of two thousand regulars, twelve hundred militia, mostly from North Carolina, and the citizens.

Clinton made gradual approaches towards the city, and, on the first of April, began the siege by erecting works at the distance of eleven hundred yards. On the 9th, the fleet, driven by a strong wind, passed the forts on Sullivan's Island, without stopping to return their fire, and gained the command of the harbour. The surrender of the place was then demanded in form of General Lincoln; but he replied that it was his duty and inclination to defend it to the last extremity. The batteries were then opened, and other measures adopted to gain possession of the place.

The Southern country being open and level, Clinton had made great exertions to organize a corps of cavalry, and had succeeded. He gave the command of it to Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, who afterwards acted a conspicuous part in the wars of the south. At Monk's Corner, about thirty miles above Charleston, a body of American cavalry, commanded by General Huger, was stationed, to keep up a communication with the country, and to check the foraging parties of the enemy. Clinton despatched Colonel Webster, with fifteen hundred men, of whom part were Tarleton's cavalry, to surprise them. A negro conducted them by a secret path, to the American videttes stationed about a mile from the main body. The alarm was then given; but though Huger's troop kept their horses saddled, Tarleton rushed forward with such impetuosity, that he fell upon them before they could mount. Thirty were killed or taken, and the residue dispersed. By this victory, the enemy obtained the controul of most of the interior of the state.

A reinforcement of three thousand men was received by the enemy from New York, and works were erected nearer the city. A council of war was held to determine what course should be pursued. General Lincoln was in favour of evacuating the city; but the principal inhabitants insisted, as they had before done, that he should remain to defend them. The council advised that an offer should be made to capitulate on condition that the garrison should still be permitted to bear arms, and the inhabitants be secured in their persons and property. These terms were rejected, and hostilities continued.

Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, and several posts in the suburbs, fell into the power of the enemy. They completely invested the city, and so closely that some of their works were within twenty yards of the American lines. They began to make preparations for an assault, when the citizens, nothing

having been heard of the expected succours, requested the general to propose a capitulation on the terms which had been offered by Clinton. The proposition was made and accepted; and, on the 12th of May, the forty-second day of the siege, the city was surrendered. All who had borne arms were permitted to retire to their homes on their parole; and all public property was delivered to the victors.

This was the only attempt made during the war to defend a town; and the result proves the wisdom of the contrary course pursued by Washington. As the unfortunate are always blamed, severe censure was cast upon Lincoln for permitting his army to be enclosed in the city. But he had sufficient reasons to justify his conduct. He supposed that congress intended the city should be defended. That body and the states of Virginia and North Carolina had promised to send him between nine and ten thousand men; and had they fulfilled their promises, the city would doubtless have been saved.

The capital having surrendered, measures were adopted to overawe the inhabitants of the country, and induce them to return to their allegiance to the king. Garrisons were placed in different parts of the state, and two thousand men were despatched towards North Carolina, to repel several parties of militia, who were hastening to the relief of Charleston. Colonel Tarleton, making a rapid march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, met, at the Waxhaws, and attacked one of these parties, commanded by Colonel Buford. His force, being superior, was soon victorious. The vanquished, ceasing to resist, implored for quarter. Their cries were disregarded. Upwards of two hundred and fifty were killed, or too badly wounded to be removed from the field. This barbarous massacre spread dismay throughout the country, and gave a sanguinary character to future conflicts.

To avoid being treated as enemies, the greater part of the inhabitants either gave their parole as prisoners, or submitted to become subjects to the king. Sir Henry Clinton, afterwards, by proclamation, discharged the former from their parole, and called upon all to imbody as militia in the service of Great Britain. Indignant at this dishonourable conduct, which left them only the alternative of fighting for or against their country, multitudes, seizing their arms, resolved on a vindictive war with their invaders.

A party, who had taken refuge in North Carolina, chose Colonel Sumpter their leader. At the head of these, he returned to his own state, attacked and defeated several scattered detachments from the British army. In one engagement, so decisive was his victory, that nine only, out of nearly three hundred, escaped. By a succession of gallant enterprises, he reanimated the friends of freedom; and a spirit of determined

hostility to Great Britain was again manifested in every part of the state.

This spirit was cherished by the approach, from the north, of an army which had been despatched to defend and protect the Carolinas. When it began its march from New Jersey, it consisted of fourteen hundred men, commanded by the baron de Kalb. Though an able and active officer, his progress was slow. The congress had no money to purchase supplies, and the credit of the government was entirely exhausted. The troops obtained their support, on their way, by dispersing, and gathering it wherever it could be found. From Petersburg, in Virginia, they proceeded to the upper part of North Carolina. Passing through Hillsborough, they arrived at Deep Creek, in South Carolina, where, on the 25th of July, they were joined by General Gates, whom congress had appointed to the chief command in the southern department. It was supposed that the conqueror of Burgoyne would attract to his standard the militia of the country, and, by inspiring confidence, increase the strength of the army. He directed his march towards Camden, where about two thousand British regulars were stationed, under the command of Lord Rawdon. The sufferings of the American troops now became even greater than they had been. Lean cattle found straying in the woods, green corn, and peaches, were their principal food. By such diet rendered sickly, and wearied by incessant toil, they arrived at Clermont, a few miles from Camden, on the 14th of August. The army had received additions on its march, and now amounted to about four thousand men, a large portion of whom were militia.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton had returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis to command in his stead. On hearing of the approach of Gates, he hastened to Camden, where he arrived on the same 14th of August. How could he relieve his small force from the danger which threatened it? To retreat would be giving up the state. To await an attack at Camden, an ill-chosen position, he considered perilous and unwise. Rejecting these two courses, he boldly resolved to attack Gates in his camp at Clermont.

Gates determined to take a strong position nearer to Camden, and for this purpose left his camp in the night of the 15th. At the same hour, Cornwallis left Camden to surprise Gates. At half past two, the next morning, the advanced parties, to the surprise of both, met and engaged. In several skirmishes which took place, the British obtained the advantage. This depressed the spirits of the militia, who looked forward to the morning with gloomy forebodings.

When the morning dawned, the enemy advanced to the attack. At the first onset the Virginia militia fled from the field,

and their example was followed by others. The Continentals, though left alone to contend with superior numbers, maintained the conflict with great firmness. For a short time, they had the advantage of their opponents; but their commander, De Kalb, was killed: they then gave way, and the flight became general.

The fugitives were pursued by Tarleton's legion with relentless fury. When all were killed, captured, or dispersed, the pursuers, with speed unchecked, took the route towards Sumpter's encampment. This active partisan, who had lately been victorious in a skirmish, retreated precipitately, on hearing of the defeat of Gates. At the Catawba Ford, supposing that he was beyond danger, he halted, that his troops, who were fatigued, might repose. His sentinels slept at their posts, and the legion rode into his camp before preparations could be made for defence. Between three and four hundred were killed or wounded; the remainder were dispersed in the woods; three hundred prisoners released; all the baggage and stores fell into the power of the victors.

Again supposing the state to be subdued, Cornwallis adopted measures of extreme severity to suppress every latent inclination to revolt. He directed that all who, having once submitted, had lately given aid to the armies of congress, should be deprived of their property and imprisoned; and that all, who had once borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should suffer death. In consequence of these orders, several were executed, and many were reduced to poverty and wretchedness.

In these times of confusion and distress, the mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the States was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in their defence, they by a variety of means, threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

There were yet some citizens, who, in all fortunes adhered with firmness to the cause of independence. Of these, in one part of the state, General Sumpter was the leader; in another, General Marion. The cavalry of the latter were so destitute of the weapons of war, that they were obliged to cut their swords from the saws of the saw-mills. He was so successful in concealing himself in woods and marshes, that the enemy were never able to attack or discover him. From these dark retreats he often sallied forth, and fell upon parties of the enemy, when marching through the country, or posted in garrisons to overawe the inhabitants. In one of these sallies, he released one hundred and fifty Continentals captured at Camden. His repeated and successful excursions preserved alive the spirit of resistance, and his high fame as a partisan

was never tarnished by any violation of the laws of war or humanity.

Of those who submitted through fear, or from attachment to the royal cause, Major Ferguson, a British officer of distinguished merit, was appointed commander. He was despatched, by Cornwallis, into the western part of North Carolina, where, other Tories joining him, his force was augmented to fourteen hundred men. An enterprise against this party was concerted by the commanders of the militia, in the adjacent parts of the two Carolinas and Virginia. About the 1st of October, they, by great exertions, assembled three thousand men at Gilbert Town. From these, fifteen hundred choice riflemen were selected; who, mounted on the best horses, hastened to the attack of Ferguson.

He awaited them on the top of King's Mountain. The militia, in three divisions, led by Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, ascended it in different directions. These divisions successively arriving, were each repulsed; but each, when the enemy, by an attack from a different quarter, were recalled from pursuit, returned again to the charge. In this manner the action was continued for an hour with great spirit. Ferguson was then killed, and with him expired the courage of his party. Eight hundred threw down their arms, and became prisoners. One hundred and fifty were killed. Very few of the assailants fell. Ten of the most active among the Tories were selected, by the exasperated Whigs, and immediately hanged on the spot.

Cornwallis, confident of his ability to subjugate the state, had followed Ferguson into North Carolina. Receiving notice of his entire defeat, he returned and took post at Winstanbury. As he retired, Gates, who had assembled an army of fourteen hundred men, advanced to Charlotte, where he determined to pass the winter. He was soon after recalled by Congress, and, on the recommendation of Washington, General Greene was withdrawn from the northern army to take command of the department of the south.

By the northern army, which, as has been stated, was posted at West Point and Morristown, little more was attempted, during the year, than to watch the motions of the enemy in New York, and protect the inhabitants from their incursions. The troops, unfed, unpaid, and unemployed, discovered, at various times, a disposition to mutiny. On these occasions, the British commander, by means of emissaries sent among them, invited them to repair to the city, where he promised them comfort and abundance. His invitations were disregarded. Relief from distress was all they sought; and when that was obtained, they cheerfully returned to their duty.

In July, a French squadron under Admiral Ternay, bringing six thousand troops, commanded by Count Rochambeau, ar-

rived at Rhode Island, which had previously been evacuated by the enemy; they were immediately blockaded in the harbour they had entered, by a British fleet. Reinforced by these troops, Washington determined to attack New York; the army marched to stations nearer the city, and rejoiced in the hope of being able to accomplish something for their country; but the arrival from England of another fleet, under Admiral Rodney, disconcerted the plan which had been formed.

Defeat at the south and disappointment at the north overshadowed the land with gloom; but intelligence that treason had appeared in the American camp occasioned amazement and alarm. The traitor was Arnold, whom bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering had placed high in the affections of the people.

Upon the evacuation of Philadelphia, by the enemy, in 1778, he was appointed commander of that station. Here, indulging in all the pleasures of an expensive equipage and sumptuous table, he contracted debts which he was unable to discharge. To extricate himself from embarrassment, he made large claims against the government, a proportion of which was rejected. He was accused of extortion and of misuse of the public money; and for these offences was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief.

From this moment, he determined to avenge his wounded pride and supply his wants by betraying his country. In a letter to a British officer, he signified his change of principle, and his wish to restore himself to the favour of his prince, by some signal proof of his repentance; and about this time, for a purpose which afterwards too plainly appeared, he solicited and obtained the command of West Point, the most important post in the possession of the American armies.

He immediately opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and proposed to deliver into his power the post that he commanded. To agree upon the mode of surrender, Major Andre, a young man of splendid talents, and adjutant-general of the British army, ascended the river from New York, and, in the night, at a place near the American lines, had an interview with Arnold. Before he was prepared to return, the sloop-of-war which brought him was compelled to move down the river.

In this emergency, Andre, disguised as a traveller, assuming the name of Anderson, and furnished by Arnold with a pass, set out to return by land to New York. He passed all the guards and posts without awakening suspicion; but was stopped, when near the end of his journey, by three of the New York militia, whose names were Paulding, Williams, and Vanwart. Supposing them to be soldiers of his own army, instead of producing his pass, he declared himself a British officer, and desired he might not be detained.

On discovering his mistake, he offered them a purse of gold and a valuable watch, and promised more ample rewards from his government, if they would permit him to escape. Rejecting, with patriotism worthy of all praise, these tempting offers, they conducted him to Colonel Jameson, who was stationed near the American lines. In his boots were found a particular statement of the strength of the garrison, and a description of the works at West Point. Anxious for the safety of Arnold, he desired the colonel to inform him that Anderson was taken. An express was unwarily despatched with the intelligence. Arnold, comprehending his danger, made a precipitate flight to New York.

Andre, disdaining longer concealment, then avowed himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army. Suspicion being now excited, Colonel Jameson transmitted to the commander-in-chief, who was not far distant, information of all the events which had occurred. Washington, hastening to West Point, made arrangements for repelling any attack that might be made. Measures of precaution being taken, the fate of the prisoners was next to be decided.

His case was referred to a board of officers. Appearing before them, he confessed, with ingenuous frankness, every circumstance relating to himself, but would disclose nothing which might involve others in his misfortune. He displayed, in all his conduct while a prisoner, great nobleness of mind; but the board, constrained by duty, reported that he must be considered as a spy, and, agreeably to the law of nations, ought to suffer death.

Sir Henry Clinton, by whom he was highly esteemed, made every exertion in his power to avert his fate. He entreated, remonstrated, and threatened. To have yielded would have betrayed timidity and weakness, and encouraged future treason. Andre suffered an ignominious death, with a degree of composure and fortitude which proved how great and illustrious he might have been, had he not stooped, in an evil hour, to the commission of an ignominious action.

Arnold received, as the reward of his treachery, the sum of ten thousand pounds, and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army. But he was detested by his new associates; and his name will be forever synonymous with infamy and baseness. In contrast with his, how bright shines the fame of the three captors of Andre! They were not then, nor can they ever be, forgotten by a country which owes so much to their fidelity. Each received the thanks of congress, a silver medal, and a pension for life, which has been doubled at a subsequent season of greater national prosperity.

At the close of the year 1780, the troops of the northern army retired to the winter quarters which they had last occupied. Again they endured distress at which patriotism feels

indignant and humanity weeps. The harvest had been abundant. Plenty reigned in the land, but want in the camp of its defenders. Selfishness had succeeded patriotism, lassitude enthusiasm, in the breasts of the people, and congress exerted its powers with too little vigour to draw forth the resources of the country.

The soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were stationed at Morristown, in New Jersey. They complained that, in addition to sustaining sufferings common to all, they were retained in service contrary to the terms of their enlistments. In the night of the 1st of January, thirteen hundred, on a concerted signal, paraded under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Philadelphia, and demanding of congress a redress of their grievances.

The officers strove to compel them to relinquish their purpose. In the attempt, one was killed, and several were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if intending to fire. They held their bayonets to his breast. "We love and respect you," said they, "but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy. On the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever. But we will be amused no longer; we are determined to obtain what is our just due."

They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princeton. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day, he followed, and requested them to appoint a man from each regiment, to state to him their complaints. The men were appointed, a conference held, but he refused to comply with their demands.

They proceeded in good order to Princeton. Three emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton, meeting them here, made them liberal offers to entice them from the service of congress. The offers were instantly rejected, and the emissaries seized and confined in strict custody. Here they were also met by a committee of congress, and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania. The latter, granting a part of their demands, persuaded them to return to their duty. The agents of Clinton were then given up, and immediately executed as spies.

This mutiny, and another in the Jersey line, which was instantly suppressed, aroused the attention of the States to the miserable condition of their troops. The amount of three months' pay was raised and forwarded to them in specie. They received it with joy, as it afforded evidence that their country was not unmindful of their sufferings.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

It has not yet been mentioned that, as early as 1778, William Lee, an envoy from the United States, and John de Neuville, acting in the name of Van Berkel, the principal magistrates of the city of Amsterdam, meeting at Aix-la-Chapelle, agreed upon the plan of a treaty between the United States and Holland. This could have no validity until it had received the assent of all the Dutch provinces; but that, it was supposed, could easily be obtained, for the influence of that city was great, and her merchants were not only anxious to open and enjoy a regular commerce with the American states, but cherished an inveterate hostility against the arrogant commercial rival of their nation.

¶ In 1780, the congress appointed Henry Laurens minister to Holland, and empowered him to conclude a commercial treaty with that republic. He left the country in the fall of the year; the ship in which he sailed was captured; he threw his papers overboard, but they were rescued from the water, before they sunk, by the dexterity of a British sailor. Among the papers was the plan of a treaty agreed on at Aix-la-Chapelle. The British minister, resident in Holland, in pursuance of instructions, communicated the papers to the Dutch government, demanded a disavowal of the treaty, and the exemplary punishment of Van Berkel. He obtained no answer until after a second demand, and was then merely assured, by the states-general, that they would take the matter into their serious consideration.

This answer not being satisfactory, the British government recalled their minister; and, being well aware that a majority of the Dutch were friendly to America as well as hostile to them, and apprehensive that they were only desirous of deferring hostilities until their rich merchant vessels could reach home and be safe from capture, issued a declaration of war against Holland. To do this they were instigated by pride, as well as by the hope of reaping a rich harvest of prizes, and of gaining possession of defenceless Dutch colonies. They were successful at first; but their new enemy, when aroused, returned blow for blow.

The commerce of the nations not engaged in the war suffered much from the belligerent pretensions of Great Britain. She claimed a right to search neutral vessels, wherever they might be, on the ocean, for contraband articles, and for enemy's property, and often exercised it in a manner which excited the indignation of those who suffered. To resist her pretensions

and to protect their commerce, the northern European powers, at the head of which was the empress of Russia, formed an association, styled the Armed Neutrality. They insisted that neutral ships should be allowed a free navigation, even from one port to another of nations at war; that the goods of an enemy should not be taken from the ships of a neutral; and that no ports should be considered blockaded unless closely invested by ships-of-war. The congress declared its approbation of the principles of this association, and, in December, 1780, appointed Francis Dana minister to Russia, with power to accede to a league for protecting the freedom of commerce and the rights of nations.

In America, it was determined to open the campaign at the north by besieging New York. Requisitions for men and stores were made upon the Northern States, and, in June, the French and American troops, marching from their respective positions, encamped together on ground contiguous to the city. But reinforcements and supplies arrived slowly, and the want of them compelled the troops in the field to remain inactive.

In the southern department, far different was the fortune of the opposing armies. That of which General Greene took the command, consisted of but two thousand men. Nearly one half of these he despatched, under General Morgan, into the western section of South Carolina, where a British party, aided by the tories, were plundering and murdering the whigs without mercy and without restraint.

Against the American detachment, Cornwallis despatched Tarleton, with a force considerably superior, and a large proportion of it cavalry. Morgan began to retreat, but, disdaining to fly from an enemy, and uncertain whether he could escape an officer so distinguished as his pursuer for the celerity of his movements, he, on the 17th of January, halted at the Cowpens, and determined to hazard a battle, before his troop-became dispirited and fatigued.

Soon after he had placed his men, the British van appeared in sight. Confident of an easy victory, Tarleton rushed to the charge with his usual impetuosity. The militia posted in front yielded, as directed by Morgan, to the shock; and the infantry composing the second line, retreated a few yards. In the ardour of pursuit, the enemy were thrown into disorder: the infantry, facing about, poured upon them a fire as deadly as it was unexpected. Their disorder was increased, and a charge with the bayonet completed their overthrow. One hundred of the enemy were killed, and five hundred made prisoners.

Seldom has a victory, achieved by so small a number, been so important in its consequences. It deprived Cornwallis of one fifth of his force, and disconcerted his plans for the reduction of North Carolina. He sought, however, to repair, by

active exertions, the loss which he had suffered. Having learnt that Morgan, the instant after his victory, had marched with his prisoners towards Virginia, he determined, if possible to intercept him, and compel him to restore his trophies.

Now commenced a military race which has hardly its parallel in history. Each army strove to arrive first at the Fords of the Catawba, from which both were equally distant. The American troops endured almost incredible hardships. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spiritous liquors. Many, marching over frozen ground without shoes, marked with blood every step of their progress.

On the twelfth day after the battle, Morgan reached the fords and crossed the Catawba. Two hours afterwards, Cornwallis arrived, and, it being then dark, encamped on the bank. In the night, a heavy fall of rain made the river impassable. This gave Morgan an opportunity to remove the prisoners beyond the reach of his pursuer. And here he was joined by General Greene, who, leaving the main body of his army, with orders to march towards Virginia, had ridden, with but two or three attendants, one hundred and fifty miles for that purpose.

At the end of three days, Cornwallis found means to pass the river. The retreat and pursuit again commenced. On the second night, the Americans reached a ford on the Yadkin. Before all had crossed, the British appeared, and a part of the baggage was left in their power. Again the two armies lay encamped on the opposite banks, and, before morning, this river also was made impassable by the rain. This second preservation from imminent danger persuaded the Americans that their cause was favoured of Heaven.

The next day, Greene proceeded to Guilford court-house, where he was joined by the other division of his army. Cornwallis, marching up the Yadkin, crossed at the shallow fords near its source. Both armies now started for the River Dan, on the borders of Virginia, and distant more than one hundred miles. The knowledge that there the course must terminate, gave fresh vigour to the troops, and a new impulse to their speed. On the fifth day, the American army, having, in the last twenty-four hours, marched forty miles, crossed the river in boats which had been collected for the purpose; and scarcely were they over when the British appeared on the opposite shore.

Chagrined that his adversary had thus eluded his grasp, Cornwallis wheeled about and marched sullenly to Hillsborough. Here many loyalists resorted to his standard. Six hundred Virginia militia having, in the mean time, joined the American army, Greene determined to recross the Dan, and,

by his presence in North Carolina, support the courage of those who had embraced the cause of independence.

Cornwallis having detached Tarleton, with his legion, to the country on the branches of the Haw River, in order to counteract the rising of the loyalists in that neighbourhood, a body of cavalry under Lieutenant Colonel Lee, and of militia under General Pickens, were directed to march thither and attack him. Lee, who led the van, overtook, in a long lane, a band of Tories, on their way to the enemy. Mistaking him for Tarleton, they expressed a lively joy at the meeting, and declared their zealous attachment to the royal cause.

Hoping to surprise Tarleton, who was but a mile in advance, Lee forebore to correct their error; but while he was endeavouring to pass them, the militia came up and engaged their rear. Relinquishing his first project, he ordered his cavalry to fall upon the Tories, who were slaughtered without mercy, while protesting they were "the very best friends of the king." Between two and three hundred were killed. Tarleton, alarmed by the firing, retreated instantly to Hillsborough. On his way, he cut down a small party of royalists, mistaking them for Whig militia.

Leaving Hillsborough, Cornwallis next encamped near Guilford court-house. Greene, having been still further strengthened by several bodies of militia, pursued and offered him battle. On the 15th of March, an engagement was fought. At the first fire, the North Carolina militia, who were in the front line fled. The second line was also routed. The Continentals, who composed the third, fought with their usual bravery, and for an hour and a half maintained the conflict with great firmness. They at length gave way, but retreated in good order, the slaughter they had made in the enemy's ranks preventing pursuit. Both sides sustained nearly an equal loss.

This victory, won by a far inferior force, was more glorious than advantageous to the British army. Greene, expecting and desiring to be attacked at his place of retreat, made preparations for a second engagement. Cornwallis, far from courting a battle, deemed it prudent to retire to Wilmington, near the sea. He was pursued for a few days; but so excessive had been the sufferings of the Americans, from hunger and fatigue, that many fainted on the march; and at Ramsay's Mills the army halted to seek refreshment and repose.

After remaining three weeks at Wilmington, Cornwallis proceeded to Petersburg, in Virginia. From Ramsay's Mills, Greene marched towards Camden, where were posted nine hundred men, under the command of Lord Rawdon. He took a position on Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from the British intrenchments. At this position, the Americans were attacked the 25th of April. In the beginning of the action, their gained advantages which, in its progress, were lost

by an incident such as often decides the fate of battles. A captain being killed, his company got into confusion, fell back, and drew with it the adjoining company. The colonel ordered the rest of the regiment to make a retrograde movement, for the purpose of taking a stronger position in the rear, and in a line with those companies. This was mistaken for an order to retreat, and the regiment gave way. The enemy pressed forward with increased ardour, and all endeavours to rally the regiment, which was the bravest in the army, were ineffectual. Another regiment gave way, and then another, when Greene, resolving to preserve his troops for a more auspicious occasion, retired a few miles from the field. The enemy pursued; but Colonel Washington, facing about, made a vigorous charge upon their van, and drove them back. The loss sustained on each side was nearly equal.

In April and May, several British posts in South Carolina fell into the power of the brave and active partisans, who, with small bodies of troops, were ever present where oppression was to be resisted or glory won. Marion and Lee invested and took Fort Watson. Orangeburg and Fort Motte surrendered to Sumpter. Lee captured Fort Granby, and Marion drove from Georgetown the troops stationed to defend it. None of these posts had numerous garrisons, the prisoners being less, in the whole, than eight hundred; but the advantages they had secured to the enemy rendered their capture important to the American cause.

The loss of these posts exposed those nearer Charleston to danger; and, should the latter be lost, the troops in that city would be unable to receive supplies from the country. Lord Rawdon, therefore, near the end of May, retreated from Camden, and took post at Monk's Corner, leaving garrisons only at Ninety-Six and Augusta. The latter post was besieged by Lee, and soon capitulated. Ninety-Six, which was much stronger, was invested by the main army. The siege had continued three weeks, and eventual success appeared certain, when intelligence arrived that Lord Rawdon, having received a reinforcement from Ireland, was approaching, with two thousand men to the relief of the place. All hope was now lost of reducing it by the slow operation of a siege. On the 18th of June, the Americans, with great gallantry, made an assault upon the works. They were received with no less gallantry by the garrison, and repulsed. Greene then retired towards North Carolina, and three days afterwards Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six.

During this year, the inhabitants of the Carolinas endured calamity and distress from which humanity revolts with horror. The country was ravaged and plundered by both armies. The people, in sentiment, were about equally divided. Villages were hostile to village, and neighbour to neighbour; a

hostility had been imbibed by accusation and retort, by attack and reprisal, until pillage, burning, and murder, became familiar to all. Whenever a republican or royalist fell into the power of an adversary, he was instantly sacrificed in revenge of a friend, or to gratify political hatred. It is asserted that, in this manner, thousands were put to death. Each party aimed at the extirpation of the other, and the whole country presented an unvaried scene of blood and slaughter. But censure ought not to rest equally upon the two parties. In the commencement of the contest, the British, to terrify the people into submission set an example, which the Tories were quick, but the Whigs slow, to follow; and in its progress the American generals, and they alone, seized every occasion to discountenance such vindictive and barbarous conduct.

Lord Rawdon having returned to England, the command of the British troops, in South Carolina, devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. In the beginning of September, he took post at Eutaw. Greene marched against him from the High Hills of Santee. Their forces were equal, amounting on each side to two thousand men. On the 8th, a battle was fought, more bloody, perhaps, than any which had occurred during the war. The attack was made by the Americans; the British, resolute and brave, made an obstinate resistance, but were at length driven in disorder from the field.

A small number, on their retreat, took possession of a large brick house, and others of an adjoining picketed garden. From these strong positions a deadly fire was poured upon the Americans, who persisted for a long time, in a rash attempt to take them by storm. This check enabled the British commander to rally his broken battalions, and bring them again into action. Greene, despairing of further success, withdrew his troops, carrying with him his wounded and prisoners.

The loss on both sides was uncommonly great, in proportion to the numbers engaged. On the American side, the number of killed and wounded amounted to five hundred and fifty; on that of the British, as stated by themselves, to almost seven hundred. This sanguinary battle was followed by the retreat of the British army towards Charleston. The Americans pursued, and, by establishing a chain of posts at a short distance from that city, protected the state from their incursions.

Cornwallis, who left North Carolina in April, arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, on the 20th of May. He there formed a junction with a British detachment, which, commanded at first by Arnold, and afterwards by Phillips, had previously gained possession of Richmond and Portsmouth. With the force now at his command, he flattered himself that he should be able to

"also to the list of his conquests."

The

stationed in Virginia for its defence

were indeed entirely insufficient to oppose any effectual resistance. Under their gallant leader, the marquis de la Fayette, they accomplished even more than was expected; but were unable to prevent the enemy from marching through the country, and destroying much public and private property.

From these excursions, Cornwallis was recalled to the sea-coast by his commander-in-chief, who, having intercepted a letter from Washington to congress, became acquainted with the danger which threatened New York. He was directed to take a position near the ocean, where his army and the fleet might afford mutual protection, until the event of the operations at the north should be known. He selected York-town and Gloucester Point, situated on opposite sides of York River, which empties into Chesapeake Bay. He had an army of more than ten thousand men, and applied all his means, with unwearied industry and zeal, to fortify these commanding positions.

In the mean time, but little progress had been made in the preparations to besiege New York. Of the six thousand men, whom the Northern States were required to furnish for that purpose, a few hundreds only, at the beginning of August, had joined the army. On the other hand, the enemy in the city had been strengthened by the arrival of three thousand Germans. In this posture of affairs, the idea of an expedition against Cornwallis occurred to the commander-in-chief. While deliberating on the enterprise, he received information that a French fleet, under the count de Grasse, with three thousand troops on board, was on the way to America, and destined to the Chesapeake.

He hesitated no longer, but determined to conduct the expedition in person. The show of an intention to attack New York was nevertheless preserved. After the troops left their respective positions, and crossed the Hudson, their march was so directed as to lead Sir Henry Clinton to believe that it was the object of Washington to gain possession of Staten Island, in order to facilitate his designs against the city. The despatches he had intercepted assisted to deceive him; and not until the army had crossed the Delaware, and was thus beyond the reach of pursuit, did he suspect the real object of his adversary.

He then determined to profit by his absence, or recall him, by some daring enterprise at the north. Giving to the traitor Arnold, who had just returned from Virginia, the command of a strong detachment, he sent him against New London, a flourishing city situated upon the River Thames, in his native state. Nearly opposite, on a hill in Groton, stood Fort Griswold, which was then garrisoned by militia, hastily summoned from their labours in the field.

Against this fort Arnold despatched a part of his troop

It was assaulted on three sides at the same moment. The garrison, fighting in view of their property and their homes, made a brave and obstinate resistance. By their steady and well-directed fire, many of the assailants were killed. Pressing forward with persevering ardour, the enemy entered the fort through the embrasures. Immediately all resistance ceased. Irritated by gallantry which should have caused admiration, a British officer inquired who commanded the fort. "I did," said Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword. He seized it, and with savage cruelty plunged it into his bosom. This was the signal for an indiscriminate massacre. Of one hundred and sixty men composing the garrison, all but forty were killed or wounded, and most of them after resistance had ceased. Seldom has the glory of victory been tarnished by such detestable barbarity. The enemy, then entered New London, which was set on fire and consumed. The property destroyed was of immense value. Perceiving no other object within the reach of his force, Arnold led back his troops to New York.

The march of Washington was not arrested by this barbarous inroad. He pressed forward with the utmost speed, the great object in view imparting vigour to his troops. At Chester, he received the cheering intelligence, that admiral de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with a force sufficiently strong to prevent the escape of the enemy by water. On the 25th of September, the last division of the allied forces arrived at the place appointed for their meeting. The whole consisted of sixteen thousand men, and was furnished with a large and powerful train of battering artillery.

A body of troops under general de Choisé was stationed to watch the small garrison at Gloucester Point, on the north bank of the river; and on the 28th the several divisions destined to besiege the main garrison at Yorktown, reached the positions assigned them. On the night of the 6th of October, advancing to within six hundred yards of the enemy's lines, they began their first parallel, and laboured with such silence and diligence, that they were not discovered until morning, when the works they had raised were sufficient to protect them.

Cornwallis might probably have harassed the Americans more than he did, and hindered their progress in enclosing him; but Sir Henry Clinton had assured him that a fleet, carrying troops for his relief, would leave New York on the 5th. Confiding in ultimate success, and believing, perhaps, that it would be more signal and complete if the besiegers

approach without much show of resistance,
troops from the remote outposts, and
the main line of fortifications. Clinton

was censured for making a promise which, as the event showed, he could not fulfil. Cornwallis was more severely censured for relying upon it; for, even if the fleet had set sail, it might never have reached him.

On the 9th, several batteries being completed, a heavy cannonade was begun. Many of the enemy's guns were dismounted, and portions of their fortifications laid level with the ground. On the night of the 11th, the besiegers commenced their second parallel, three hundred yards in advance of the first. This approach was made so much sooner than was expected, that the men were not discovered at their labour, until they had rendered themselves secure from all molestation in front. The fire from the new batteries was still more furious and destructive.

From two British redoubts, in advance of their main works, and flanking those of the besiegers, the men in the trenches were so severely annoyed that Washington resolved to storm them. The enterprise against one was committed to an American, that against the other to a French detachment. Colonel Hamilton, who led the van of the former, made such an impetuous attack, that possession was soon obtained, with little slaughter. Retaliation for the carnage at Fort Griswold might have been justified. But "the soldiers," said Colonel Hamilton, "incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting resent provocation, spared every man that ceased to resist." The French detachment was equally brave and successful, but, opposed by a stronger force, sustained a more considerable loss.

The relief expected from the north came not; instead of it came a message from Clinton, that he had been delayed by the necessity of repairing his ships, and should endeavour, but might not be able, to dispatch the fleet by the 12th. Cornwallis began to feel alarm; the pressure was more severe than he had anticipated. Perceiving no certainty of safety but in flight, he attempted, on the evening of the 16th, to cross over to Gloucester, intending to force his way through the troops under De Choise, and proceed by rapid marches to New York. Before reaching the opposite shore with the first division of his army, a storm dispersed his boats, and compelled him to abandon the project.

On the morning of the 17th, additional batteries were completed by the besiegers. The cannonade became too powerful to be resisted. The enemy's works were sinking rapidly under it, and nearly all their guns were silenced. Before noon, Cornwallis beat a parley, and proposed that commissioners should be appointed to settle terms of surrender. They accordingly appointed, and, on the 19th of October, the which they had agreed upon were ratified by the respective commanders.

The naval force in the harbour was surrendered to De Grasse, the garrison to the American general. To the garrison the same terms were granted as had been conceded to the troops who capitulated at Charleston; and General Lincoln, who was present, was designated by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. The number of prisoners exceeded seven thousand, of whom nearly three thousand were not fit for duty. Five days after the surrender, the promised fleet, bringing seven thousand troops, arrived at the entrance of the bay; but the admiral learning the fate of the army, returned to New York.

On no occasion during the war did the American people manifest greater exultation and joy. To the Giver of all good they united in rendering, with grateful hearts, thanksgiving and praise for the decisive victory which he had enabled them to gain. From the nature and duration of the contest, the affections of many had been so concentrated upon their country, and so intense was their interest in its fate, that the news of this brilliant success produced the most rapturous emotions, under the operation of which some were deprived of their reason, and one aged patriot in Philadelphia expired.

The loss of a second entire army extinguished every hope which the people of Great Britain had entertained of the subjugation of their colonies. Their burdens, which, although heavy, they had borne with patience, while animated by the prospect of success, now pressed with intolerable weight. They demanded, with an almost unanimous voice, that an end should speedily be put to a hopeless and ruinous war. But the speech of the king to parliament, at the opening of the winter session, discovered that his feelings and determination remained unchanged. Bearing no portion of the burdens of war, he felt, with undiminished force, his reluctance to part with the authority which he had once exercised over three millions of subjects.

But the house of commons, speaking the sentiments of the people, expressed, in energetic language, their disapprobation of all further attempts to reduce the colonies to obedience by force. Lord North, contrary to the wishes of his sovereign, then resigned the office of prime minister. Another cabinet was formed, who advised the king to concede independence to the colonies. Early in the spring of 1782, pacific overtures were accordingly made to the American government, and both nations desisted from hostile measures.

Congress had previously appointed John Adams, of Massachusetts, a commissioner to treat with Great Britain, whenever her government should express a desire for peace. He was one of the most ardent opposers of parliamentary encroachment. His love of liberty and of tyrannical as well as love of justice was contemplated by others,

devoted all the energies of his powerful mind to the work of enlightening the people, and preparing them for the contest which he foresaw was approaching. In the Continental congress he was conspicuous for his talents and zeal. Appointed minister to Holland, he succeeded in obtaining a loan at Amsterdam when the resources of his country were almost exhausted, and in concluding with that republic a treaty of amity and commerce.

As colleagues with him, congress now appointed Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. The first was minister to France. He was beloved by his country for the services he had rendered her, and illustrious throughout the world for his inventive genius and practical philosophy. John Jay was a native of New York; was distinguished for the purity of his moral character, and his attachment to the rights of mankind. He had long been a member of congress, and was then the representative of the United States at the Spanish court. Henry Laurens was a citizen of South Carolina, had been president of congress, had been appointed minister to Holland, but, when crossing the ocean, was captured by a British Cruiser, and confined, on a charge of treason, to the Tower of London. In the endurance of sufferings in his country's cause, he displayed a character formed after the models of antiquity.

To negotiate with these, Mr. Oswald was appointed on the part of Great Britain. The conferences were opened at Paris, in April; and at the same time plenipotentiaries from all the powers at war were assembled, in that city, to treat of a general peace. The pride of the mother country, and her commendable solicitude for the interests of the loyalists, placed impediments in the way of the negotiations between her and her late colonies which occasioned considerable delay. The first commission to Mr. Oswald authorized him to treat with any commissioners of the American "colonies." Doctor Franklin and Mr. Jay (Mr. Adams and Mr. Laurens not having yet arrived) refused to negotiate until, by the commission of the person appointed to treat with them, they were acknowledged to be the representatives of an independent nation. Such a commission as they required was thereupon sent to Mr. Oswald. The ministers then entered upon a discussion of the terms which the treaty should contain. It was soon settled that the boundaries should include the territory which belonged to the several colonies before the commencement of hostilities; and an additional tract at the north-west, the extent of which was then unknown, was added. Greater difficulty was experienced in adjusting the claim of the United States to the right of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland; but it was at length agreed that they should have a common right to take fish on those banks, and at other places where

they had been accustomed to fish, and liberty to dry them on the unsettled parts of the shores of Nova Scotia, Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands.

The claims of Great Britain in behalf of the loyalists or refugees were not so easily disposed of. She insisted that they should be permitted to return, and not only to enjoy such property as had not been confiscated, but to recover all that had been, or be indemnified for the loss of it. The American envoys replied that they had no authority to make such a stipulation; that the acts of confiscation had been passed by the several states, and the congress had no power to annul them; that neither justice nor humanity required that America should compensate those people, for they had been the principal cause of the war, and had been instrumental in aggravating its worst horrors; and that, if Great Britain persisted in this demand, she would be required to pay for the property destroyed by her troops and adherents in America. But, Mr. Oswald continuing to press the claim with much pertinacity, the envoys of the United States, fearing that the negociation would otherwise be broken off, at length consented to articles stipulating that congress should earnestly recommend to the respective states to provide for the restitution of all confiscated estates; that British subjects should have full liberty to visit any part of the United States; might remain there twelve months; should meet with no molestation in their endeavours to recover their estates, and all debts at any time previously contracted; and that no future confiscations should be made.

Great Britain still retaining territory near the sources of the Mississippi, it was agreed that her subjects should for ever have the right to navigate that river; and in another article she engaged that, when her troops evacuated the country, they should carry away no negroes nor other property of the American inhabitants.

On the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles were signed, which were to form the basis of a definitive treaty, the conclusion of which was deferred until peace should take place between France, the ally of the United States, and Great Britain; and, on the 20th of the succeeding January, a cessation of hostilities was agreed on.

In the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, both parties agreed that neither should make peace without the formal consent of the other; and the congress moreover instructed their envoys to undertake nothing in their negociations for peace without the knowledge and concurrence of the French minister. These instructions were given, at the suggestion of France, when the United States were supplicants to her for aid in the war. In the progress of the negociation, facts came to the knowledge of the American envoys, which, if they * prove, presented strong reasons

for suspicion, that she was endeavouring, by secret intrigues, to obtain for herself, to the exclusion of her ally, a participation in the Newfoundland fisheries, and for Spain the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams then determined to proceed without consulting the French minister; and Dr. Franklin, the only other envoy then present, at length consented. When informed by him that the provisional articles were agreed to, the French minister replied in indignant and reproachful language; but happily the interests of his country forbade a rupture of the negotiations between her and England. On the 3d of September, 1783, a definitive treaty between these powers was signed; and, on the same day, a definitive treaty between England and the United States, containing the same stipulations as the provisional articles, was also signed. In due time, this treaty was ratified by the congress.

While the negotiations were pending, the American troops were retained in service, but remained unemployed at their various stations. They saw with pleasure the end of their toils approaching, but apprehended that their country, when she no longer needed their services, would forget with what zeal and fidelity they had been rendered. The officers, especially, dreaded that, after having, for want of pay, expended their private fortunes, and after having exhausted their strength in the performance of arduous and protracted services, they should be dismissed in poverty, without any secure provision for their future support.

In the course of the war, a resolution had been adopted by congress, stipulating that the officers, after being disbanded, should receive half pay for life. This resolution had never been ratified by the requisite number of states, and no safe reliance could therefore be placed upon it. In December, 1782, the officers forwarded to congress a petition praying that all arrears which were due to them might be discharged, and that, instead of half pay for life, a sum equal to five years full pay should be paid or secured to them when disbanded.

The delay of congress to comply with this request produced an alarming agitation in that portion of the army stationed at Newburgh. An address to the officers was privately circulated, written with great ability, and admirably well fitted to work upon those passions which recent sufferings and gloomy forebodings had excited in every bosom. The writer boldly recommended that, as all the applications to the sympathy and justice of congress had failed of success, an appeal should be made to their fears.

Fortunately, the commander-in-chief was in camp. Though conscious that the officers had just cause of complaint, he was aware that duty to his country, and even friendship, required that he should prevent the adoption of

orderly expedients to obtain redress. Calling them together, he, by a calm and sensible address, persuaded them to rely still longer upon the disposition of congress to perform for them whatever the limited means of the nation would permit. He then, in a letter to that body, gave an account of these disturbances, and maintained and enforced the claims of the officers with such pathos and strength of reason as produced the adoption of measures which restored quiet, if they did not give satisfaction.

At about the same time, the officers, remembering their common sufferings and services, and contemplating their final separation, formed a society which, with reference to the Roman hero Cincinnatus, who left the plough for the army, and returned victorious from the army to the plough, they called "The Society of the Cincinnati." A medal of gold, stamped with the American eagle, bearing on its breast the devices of the order, was to be worn by the members, suspended by a blue ribbon edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France. By the articles of the association, the right of membership was to descend to the eldest male posterity, and, in failure of them, to such collateral descendants as might be considered most worthy. Provision was made that other individuals, distinguished for their patriotism and abilities, might be elected honorary members for life; that every officer, on joining it, should deposit one month's pay, to create a fund from which donations should be made to such officers and their families as might need assistance; and that the members belonging to the respective states should constitute distinct subordinate societies, deputies from which should meet triennially to regulate concerns of general import; and the office of president was conferred on General Washington.

In November, 1783, the PATRIOT ARMY was disbanded, and again mingled with their fellow-citizens. In the same month, New York was evacuated by the British troops. General Washington, taking an affectionate leave of his officers, repaired to Annapolis, where congress was then sitting, and there, at a public audience, with dignity and sensibility, resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. Then, with a character illustrious throughout the world, he returned to his residence at Mount Vernon, possessing the sincere love and profound veneration of his countrymen.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CONFEDERATION, AND THE ADOPTION
OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE exultation at the achievement of independence, and the joy at the return of peace, began to subside as soon as the people had leisure to reflect upon their situation, and to feel the evils which remained after the greater evil of war had been removed. For seven years, a large portion of the inhabitants had been called from the labours of the field to the defence of their country; and all the surplus earnings of those who remained at home had been required for the support of war. Some had been reduced from riches to poverty by the depreciation and final extinction of paper money; others suffered all the evils of want while they held evidences of the debt of the confederation, of which they could obtain neither the principal nor interest. The whole amount of this debt, foreign and domestic, was estimated at forty-two millions of dollars; and each state owed, besides, a large debt of its own.

The commerce of the country had been almost annihilated during the war; and the people possessed not the means of reviving it. They owned but few ships; they had but little to offer in exchange for the productions of Europe; their trade with most other nations was burdened with restrictions such as those nations thought proper to impose, they declining to form treaties with a government possessing such limited powers as the congress. These powers did not embrace the regulation of commerce; each state, considering itself a separate and independent sovereignty, imposed such duties and restrictions upon the trade between itself and foreign nations and the other states as its interests for the moment seemed to require. Commerce, therefore, with nothing to facilitate and much to impede it, languished; and, for the want of its vivifying influence, all the energies of the country were dormant.

The public creditors were clamorous for pay; but the congress possessed not the means, nor the power to obtain the means, to discharge its debts. It could collect no duties from commerce, nor impose taxes; it could do no more than make requisitions upon the states, which it often did; but they were seldom regarded. So low had its credit fallen, that the evidences of its debt were often sold, by the necessitous, for one eighth of their nominal value. The patriots in congress did not deserve, but they felt, the reproach of credit destroyed and energies paralyzed. Their requisitions having been disregarded, they appealed, in earnest terms, to the states to grant them the power to raise money to pay the principal and

interest of the debt by imposing duties on imports. New York alone refused ; but her single negative defeated the project.

The people, not receiving all the benefits they expected from independence and liberty, became discontented, jealous, and in some parts refractory. Their jealousy was highly excited by the Society of the Cincinnati. Its ribbon and its hereditary feature gave rise to the suspicion that the object of its founders was to establish an order of nobility ; and the provision that men of talents and patriotism, who had not been officers, might be elected honorary members for life, led to the apprehension that the society intended to strengthen itself by uniting with it the principal men in the several states, and thus render it too powerful to be resisted. At the suggestion of General Washington, most of the state societies altered the articles of the association by expunging the hereditary principle, and the right to elect honorary members ; and the people then dismissed their fears.

By the treaty of peace, the Mississippi was declared to be the western, and the thirty-first degree of north latitude the southern, boundary of the republic. Spain possessed the country south of that degree, and of course both banks of the Mississippi, at its mouth. She claimed therefore the right to prohibit, and did prohibit, the citizens of the Union from transporting their products upon that river to the ocean. The settlers west of the Alleghany Mountains, then rapidly increasing in numbers, complained loudly of the deprivation which they suffered, and indignantly censured congress for not obtaining for them the privilege withheld. A negotiation was opened with Gardoqui, the Spanish minister to the States ; but he refused to yield what was claimed.

Before the war, a free trade was allowed between the colonies and the British West Indies. The former having now become a distinct nation, Great Britain no longer permitted them to enjoy this privilege, and this commerce was carried on wholly in British ships. This kept alive the animosity between the two nations, and other causes contributed to increase it. The British refused to surrender certain posts on the western lakes, and within the acknowledged boundaries of the republic, the retention of which enabled them to control the western Indians, and keep possession of the fur trade ; alleging, in justification, that the United States, on their part, had neglected to perform some of the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace. To adjust all matters in dispute, and to form a commercial treaty, John Adams was sent as minister to England ; but so little power had congress to bind the States, that he failed to accomplish any thing.

In January 1786, the legislature of Virginia, at the suggestion of the convention, appointed commissioners to meet, at such place and such commissioners as might be ap-

pointed by the other states, to take into consideration the trade of the country, and recommend a uniform system of commercial regulations. The meeting was held in September; but five states only were represented. After discussion, they came to the conclusion that their number was too small, and their power too limited, to enable them to effect their object. Previous to their adjournment, however, they agreed on a report, in which they recommended that delegates should be appointed, by the several legislatures, to meet at Philadelphia, in the ensuing May, empowered to revise and amend the articles of confederation, wherever found defective. This report was sent to the congress, as well as to the several state legislatures.

The stagnation of trade was most sensibly felt in New England. There a very large portion of the people were dependent on their own labour for support; and the discouragement of domestic industry produced among them extreme distress. In Massachusetts, it urged to insurrection a portion of the inhabitants. Near the close of the year, they assembled, to the number of two thousand, in the north-western part of the state; and, choosing Daniel Shays their leader, demanded that the collection of debts should be suspended, and that the legislature should authorize the emission of paper money for general circulation. Two bodies of militia, drawn from those parts of the state where disaffection did not prevail, were immediately despatched against them, one under the command of General Lincoln, the other of General Shepard. They were easily dispersed; and afterwards, abandoning their seditious purposes, accepted the proffered indemnity of the government.

But, though easily quelled, this rebellion startled the country, and convinced the active patriots of that day that efficient measures must be adopted to strengthen the government, and call forth the resources of the nation. In pursuance of the suggestion of the meeting at Annapolis, congress, in February, 1787, adopted a resolution recommending that a convention to revise the articles of confederation should be held at Philadelphia; and all the states, except Rhode Island, chose delegates. On the 14th day of May, the convention met: General Washington was unanimously chosen president; and this body of venerable and illustrious statesmen proceeded to perform its important duty.

They deliberated with closed doors; but their journal and a portion of their debates have been published. After a few weeks' discussion, they determined that, instead of revising the articles of confederation, they would frame an entirely new constitution. The various interests and pursuits of the several portions of the confederacy occasioned difficulties which prolonged their labours, and, for a time, rendered almost hopeless. The planting states of the

the commercial states of the north, each feared that the other would obtain the preponderancy in the new government. The large were unwilling that the small states should enjoy, as they did by the articles of confederation, the same weight in the legislature; and the latter were unwilling to relinquish their equality. The subject of slavery often forced itself upon their consideration, and aroused feelings not easily reconciled nor restrained.

But the necessity of a more perfect union, and of a stronger government, which every one felt, impelled all to yield something; and, after a session of four months, they agreed upon a constitution, which was reported to congress, and by that body submitted for ratification to conventions chosen by the people of the respective states.

This constitution, under which the citizens of this republic have enjoyed such unexampled happiness and prosperity, differs, in many particulars, from the articles of confederation. It connects the states more closely together, by establishing over the whole people a supreme government, composed of three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial.

The legislative department consists of a senate and house of representatives, and is styled the congress. The members of the house are chosen by the people, and hold their offices two years. They are apportioned among the several states, according to the number of inhabitants, as ascertained every tenth year by the census, deducting two fifths of the slaves.

The senators are the representatives of the states, in their sovereign capacity, and are chosen by the states legislatures, each choosing two. The constitution ordained that, on assembling at the first session, they should be divided, as equally as possibly, into three classes. Those composing the first class were to hold their offices but two years; those composing the third, six years. All subsequently chosen were to hold their offices six years, except such as should be chosen to supply the places of those who died or resigned. Besides their legislative power, they have, in concurrence with the executive, a voice in all appointments to office, and in the ratification of treaties.

The executive power is vested in a president, appointed by electors. These electors are chosen in the respective states, in such manner as the different legislatures may prescribe, and are equal in number to the senators and representatives from the state in congress. If, however, no person receives a majority of the votes of those electors, the president is then chosen by the representatives, those from each state having but one vote. He is elected for four years; but he may be impeached by the house, tried by the senate, and, if convicted, removed from office. He is commander in chief of the forces. He nominates to the senate

all officers of the general government, and, with the advice and consent of two thirds of that body, ratifies treaties. A vice-president is chosen at the same time, and in the same manner, to perform all the duties of president when that office is vacant by death, resignation, or removal.

To pass a law, the house and senate must concur; and it is then to be sent to the president, who must approve it. If he does not approve it, he must return it with his objections; and it must then be agreed to by two-thirds of both branches. Laws thus enacted are obligatory upon the citizens individually, and may be executed by officers appointed by the president and senate. Under the confederation, the ordinances of congress operated only upon the states, and no efficient mode was provided for enforcing them.

The constitution confers on congress the power to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to regulate commerce; to coin money; and all other powers of a general or national character. It diminishes in no respect the liberty of the citizen, but transfers a portion of the powers, previously exercised by the state governments, to the government of the Union.

The judicial power of the United States is vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the congress may establish; and it extends to all cases arising under the constitution, the laws of congress, and treaties; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to all controversies between citizens of different states, and between foreigners and citizens: the judges hold their offices during good behaviour.

Although, from regard to consistency, and in the hope, probably, that, at no distant time, slavery would cease to exist, the use of the word *slave* is cautiously avoided in the constitution; yet several of its provisions have reference to that class of persons. It provides that three fifths of their number shall be counted in apportioning representatives and direct taxes; that congress shall not prohibit their importation until the year 1808, nor impose upon them, when imported, a higher duty than ten dollars for each person; and that a slave escaping from one state into another shall not be set free, but shall be delivered up.

The new constitution found opposers as well as advocates; and both were equally zealous. The former, ardently attached to liberty, imagined that rulers possessing such extensive sway, such abundant patronage, and such independent tenure of office, would become fond of the exercise of power, and, in the end, arrogant and tyrannical; and many, believing that their local governments were the surest safeguards of liberty, complained that, in the partition of power, too little was left to them, and too much granted to this new, or, as

they affected to consider it, foreign government, which was to be established. The latter, professing and feeling the same attachment to liberty, contended that, to preserve it, an energetic government was necessary. They described, in forcible and convincing terms, the evils actually endured from the inefficiency of the confederation, and demanded that a trial, at least, should be made of the remedy proposed. These took the name of federalists, to denote that they were in favour of a union of the states; the appellation of anti-federalists was given to their antagonists.

In the conventions of eleven states, a majority, though in some instances a small one, decided in favour of its ratification. Provision was then made for the election of the officers to compose the executive and legislative departments. To the highest station, the electors, by a unanimous vote, elected George Washington, illustrious for his virtues and military talents. To the second, that of vice-president, by a vote nearly unanimous, they elevated John Adams, who, in stations less conspicuous, had, with equal patriotism, rendered important services to his country.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The 4th of March, 1789, was the day designated for the new government to commence its operations. The delays incident to its first organization prevented the inauguration of President Washington until the 30th of April. The ceremony was witnessed, with inexpressible joy, by an immense concourse of citizens. In an impressive address to both houses of congress, he declared, with characteristic modesty, his "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his "fervent supplications to that Almighty Being, whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and would enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge."

He also expressed his firm conviction, "that the foundation of our national policy would be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and that the pre-eminence of a free government would be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world

"I dwell," said he, "on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists, in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and since the destiny of the republican model of government is justly considered as DEEPLY, perhaps as FINALLY, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people."

To establish a revenue sufficient for the support of the government, and for the discharge of the debt contracted in the revolutionary war, was the first object of congress. But this was not effected until after considerable discussion arising from imagined differences of local interests, and from feelings of national attachment and antipathy. It was proposed to lay specific duties, or duties according to the quantity, on certain enumerated articles, and on all others an *ad valorem* duty, or a duty on the actual value. A tax was also proposed on the tonnage of vessels, higher on foreign than American; and the plan embraced also a discrimination in favour of such foreign nations as had made commercial treaties with the United States.

By members coming from parts of the Union not directly interested in commerce, the discrimination in favour of American tonnage was resisted as a tax on agriculture, and a premium granted to navigation. To these objections Mr. Madison, a statesman more free than most from local feelings and prejudices, replied that it was important that America should have ships to carry on her own commerce, to form a school for seamen, and to lay the foundation of a navy. He did not think there was much weight in the observation that a duty on foreign vessels would be a burden on the community, and particularly oppressive to some parts. If it were, it would be a burden of that kind which would ultimately save us from a greater. What but a navy can defend our towns and cities on the sea-coast, or enable us to repel an invading enemy? The parts, if any, on which the burden would press most heavily, are those most exposed to a predatory warfare, and requiring the greatest exertions of the nation for their defence.

The diverse interests of the various parts of the Union occasioned considerable difficulty in adjusting the specific duties on particular articles; but the proposition to make a discrimination in favour of those nations with whom the United States had formed commercial treaties gave rise to a more animated discussion. It was supported by Mr. Madison and others on the ground that public sentiment demanded that foreign nations generally should not be placed on the same footing as

the allies of the United States, and that it was wise to impose restrictions upon the commerce of those nations that had not formed commercial treaties with us; for in this way they might be induced to do so. It was opposed by Mr. Benson, Mr. Sherman, and others, for the reasons, that no particular advantages had been derived from the commercial treaties already formed; that the trade with Great Britain was more profitable than it was, or could be made, with France; that such discrimination must be injurious to our commerce, driving it into unnatural channels, and must diminish our revenue, which could not be sufficient to justify such a hazardous experiment; and that trade, if left to itself, would seek and find the channels most profitable to those concerned in it and to the whole country.

As the bill passed the house, it made a discrimination in favour of American tonnage, and also in favour of those nations which had formed commercial treaties with the United States. To the latter discrimination the senate disagreed, and the point was eventually, but reluctantly, yielded by the house. Thus provision was made for drawing into the national treasury funds which had before been collected and appropriated by the states on the sea-coast.

Laws creating a department of state, then called the department of foreign affairs, of the treasury, and of war, were then proposed and enacted. When the first was under consideration, a question of surpassing importance was discussed and decided. The constitution gives the appointment of officers to the president and senate, but is silent on the power of removal. This bill contained a clause which declared or implied that the president alone possessed and might exercise that power. Many strenuously denied this, contending that, as the power had not been expressly granted, except in case of impeachment, it could be exercised, if at all in any other case, only by the same authority that made appointments; that it was inconsistent with the principles of free government to give, by construction, such a dangerous power to any individual; that it was a monarchical prerogative, was liable to great abuses, would render officers entirely dependent upon the whim or caprice of one man, and convert them into mere tools and creatures of his will; that it could not be supposed that the office of president would always be filled by men as virtuous as he who now filled it—and by an ambitious man the power might and would be wielded in a manner highly dangerous to liberty.

Those who believed that the president did possess, and ought to possess, the power of removal, replied that, by the constitution, the executive power was vested in the president, and no power was, in its nature, more clearly executive than this; that the president was expressly required to take care

that the laws were faithfully executed;—and how could he perform this duty unless authorized to remove an officer who should disobey his orders?—that the danger apprehended was a mere figment of the imagination, for it would not be supposed that the people would choose for their chief magistrate a man who would be guilty of removing a meritorious officer for the purpose of appointing a favourite in his stead: such an act, it was alleged, would subject him to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.

After a long and able debate, the bill containing the important clause was passed, by a majority, in the senate, of two, and, in the house, of twelve. Nothing so closely assimilates our government to the monarchies of Europe as the construction, doubtful at least, thus given to the constitution. Thomas Jefferson was appointed secretary of the department of state, Alexander Hamilton of the treasury, and Henry Knox of war.

In the same session, a national judiciary was constituted and organized, John Jay being appointed chief justice; a resolve was passed directing the secretary of the treasury to prepare a plan for the support of public credit; and amendments to the constitution were proposed, which were subsequently ratified by the states, and which, removing many of the objections made to it, rendered it acceptable to all.

After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New England, where he was received by the inhabitants with an affection bordering on adoration. People of all classes crowded to behold the man whose virtues and talents exalted him, in their view, above the heroes of ancient and modern times; and to present to him the undissembled homage of their grateful hearts. But to none did his visit give more exquisite pleasure than to the officers and soldiers of the "patriot army," who had been his companions in suffering and in victory, who were endeared to him by their bravery and fidelity in war, and by the magnanimity with which, in peace, they endured unmerited neglect and poverty.

At the next session of congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. These debts he divided into three classes—those contracted by congress to foreigners; those contracted by the same body to American citizens; and those incurred by the individual states in support of the common cause. Taking into view the sacred nature of these debts, and the policy of sustaining public credit, he recommended that all of them should be assumed and funded by the new government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. This recommendation was supported by many and able arguments.

When this report came under consideration in the house of representatives, no objection was made to the assumption of the debts contracted by congress to foreigners, amounting, according to the estimate, to about twelve millions of dollars. The assumption of the other classes of debts was opposed by the party who had seen, or thought they had seen, in the constitution, many features hostile to freedom. They now expressed their fears that this measure would render the government still stronger, by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who, in all its contests with the states or the people, would be bound, by the strongest of all ties,—that of interest,—to support it, whether right or wrong. This party, existing principally in the Southern States, and professing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, took the name of republican.

It has already been stated that the evidences of the public debt had often been sold, by the necessitous, for much less than their nominal amount. They had been purchased principally by the rich and intelligent; and a large proportion was held in the Middle and Northern States. The question had been much discussed among the people, whether the present holder should receive the full amount, or whether a discrimination should be made, giving to him the current market value, and the remainder to the original holder. A proposition to make this discrimination was brought forward in congress, by Mr. Madison; but, after considerable debate, was rejected by a large majority.

More were opposed to the assumption of the debts of the several states than of those contracted by the confederation. They contended that no power to assume them was given by the constitution; they apprehended danger from transferring the obligation from the states to the general government, believing that the effect would be to weaken the former and strengthen the latter, already too strong, by attaching to it all the public creditors; and they feared that the consolidated debt would be too burdensome for one government to sustain. On the other side, it was alleged that, as the debts were contracted in a common cause, and to effect an object which the congress was instituted to effect, they were, in fact, the debts of the Union; that it was unjust to leave those states, which had exhibited most zeal, and made the greatest efforts, to bear burdens assumed for a purpose equally beneficial to all; and that, as the states had transferred to congress the command of the principal sources of revenue, it was but just that the debts should follow the funds out of which they must be paid. After a long and earnest discussion, the house, by a small majority, refused to assume those debts; the bill which

was sent to the senate providing for the assumption of such only as had been incurred by the confederation.

Afterwards this national measure was connected, as is too frequently the case in legislative bodies, with one which had excited much local feeling. Since the congress had been driven from Philadelphia, in 1783, by the mutiny of a part of the Pennsylvania line, it had usually held its sessions in New York. Several attempts had been made, by the members from the Middle and Southern States, to establish the seat of government farther south. A majority readily agreed to leave New York; but the same majority disagreed whenever any particular place was proposed. While the assumption bill lay upon the table of the senate, an arrangement was entered into by the majority, that the seat of government should be established, for ten years, at Philadelphia, and afterwards permanently at a place to be selected on the River Potomac; and it was understood that, should this arrangement be carried into effect, some southern members would withdraw their opposition to the assumption of the debts of the states. A law establishing the seat of government was accordingly enacted. The bill on the table of the senate was then taken up; an amendment was adopted, assuming specific amounts of those debts, being in the aggregate twenty-one millions and a half; in this shape the bill was passed by that body, and sent to the house, where the amendment was agreed to, two members representing districts on the Potomac changing their votes. The whole sum funded amounted to a little more than seventy-five millions of dollars; upon a part of which three per cent., and upon the remainder six per cent. interest was to be paid.

The effect of this measure was great and rapid. The price of the public paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to the sum expressed on the face of it. This difference was gained, in most instances, by purchasers of the securities, who, feeling indebted, for this immense accession of wealth, to the plans of the secretary, regarded him with enthusiastic attachment. But in others, this wealth, suddenly acquired without merit, excited envy and dissatisfaction. Those joined the republican party; who, fancying they were witnessing the fulfilment of their prediction, became more active in their opposition.

The recommendation of the secretary to impose additional duties, was not acted upon until the next session of congress. Those on distilled spirits were proposed in order to render the burdens of the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany Mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, equal to those of the inhabitants on the sea-coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an import duty was paid. The measure was warmly opposed by the southern and western members. That an increase of the revenue was not shown to be necessary

that the duty on distilled spirits was an excise duty, the most odious of any in free governments; that the people would be dissatisfied with this intrusion of a foreign government into local affairs; and that if more revenue was wanted, a better mode of raising it could be devised,—were the arguments urged against it. But a considerable majority believed that the revenue already provided was not sufficient to enable the government to support the credit of the nation by fulfilling its obligations, and saw nothing oppressive nor unjust in the duties recommended; and, in the beginning of 1791, an act imposing them was passed.

The secretary of the treasury had also recommended the incorporation of a national bank, as “an institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the finances, and of the greatest utility in the operations connected with the support of public credit;” and a bill for that purpose was introduced at this session. It met with strong opposition, especially from members coming from the planting and agricultural states of the south and west. They expressed fears that a large moneyed institution would be so conducted as to be injurious to the community, and denied that congress had power to create a corporation, the constitution not expressly granting it. They were answered by the remark that, wherever banks had been established, under proper regulations, they had produced beneficial effects; and that each of the powers expressly given to regulate commerce, to collect taxes, to borrow money, and to pay debts, included, as an incident, the power to incorporate a bank, that being one of the means often employed to effect those objects, as clearly as the power to regulate commerce included, as an incident, that to erect light-houses.

At the close of a long debate, in which the speakers on both sides sustained and enforced their respective opinions with great ability, the bill was passed by both houses. The president having, before approving it, required the opinion, in writing, of the members of his cabinet, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Randolph, both republicans, denied, Mr. Hamilton and General Knox, both federalists, asserted its constitutionality. After considering deliberately the arguments laid before him, he decided that congress had the power to pass it, and affixed his signature. The funding of the debts, the imposition of new taxes, and the incorporation of a national bank, were measures recommended by Mr. Hamilton, who was considered the leader of the federal party: the republicans condemned them, and, by appealing to the reason as well as to the prejudices of the people, induced many to believe that they were not only calculated, but intended, to fasten upon the country the evils, and transfer to it the aristocratical features, of the verement.

When the new government was first organized, but eleven states had ratified the constitution. Afterwards, North Carolina and Rhode Island, the two dissenting states, adopted it; the former in November, 1789, the latter in May, 1790. In 1791, Vermont adopted it, and applied to congress to be admitted into the Union. The territory of this state, situated between New Hampshire and New York, was claimed by both, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777, the inhabitants, refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. Although not represented in the Continental congress, yet, during the war, they embraced the cause of their brethren in the other states; and to them their aid was often rendered, and was always efficient. Agreeably to their request, an act was now passed, constituting Vermont one of the members of the Union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, should be admitted into the Union on the 1st day of June, in the succeeding year.

In 1791 was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to 4,771,000 dollars, the exports to about 19,000,000, and the imports to about 20,000,000. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began at this period to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

In 1790, a termination was put to the war which for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Sciota and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious.

Emboldened by these successes, they made more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole was given to General St. Clair. With near two thousand men, he marched, in October, into the wilderness. By desertion and detachments, this force was reduced to fourteen hundred. On the 3d of November, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, intending to remain there until joined by those who were absent.

But before sunrise, the next morning, just after the troops

were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. These, who had been hastily formed, were thrown into disorder. They, however, with great intrepidity, advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. In these charges many brave and experienced officers were killed; the loss of men was also great, and no permanent impression was made upon the enemy.

At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops. The instant that the directions to retire were given, a disorderly flight commenced. Fortunately for the survivors, the victorious Indians were soon recalled from pursuit to the camp, by their avidity for plunder; and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements.

In this battle, the numbers engaged on each side were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded,—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence and the bravery of the assailants. On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigour, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to five thousand men.

In the autumn of 1792, General Washington was again unanimously elected president of the American republic, and in March, 1793, was inducted into office. For vice-president, the principal candidates were the incumbent, John Adams, and George Clinton, of New York. The former was charged with being friendly to distinct orders in society, and was believed to be in favour of the system of finance which had been adopted. The latter had been governor of New York during the revolutionary war, and had discharged the duties of that office with courage and energy. He stood high among that class of politicians who contended for the supremacy of the states, and had opposed with zeal the adoption of the constitution. His sentiments in regard to recent measures were known to be the same with those of the minority in congress. Mr. Adams received seventy-seven votes, and was elected. Mr. Clinton received fifty, Mr. Jefferson four, and Mr. Burr one.

While the Americans, under a government of their own choice, were enjoying, with but little alloy, the blessings of independence and freedom, the people of France, by whose these blessings had been acquired, were experiencing all

the miseries of anarchy. Grievously oppressed by institutions originating in times of ignorance and barbarism, they had risen in the majesty of physical strength, and declared their determination to be free. Against a whole people, aroused by their sufferings to demand their rights, what effectual resistance can be opposed? Before their energetic exertions prompted by enthusiasm and directed by fatal skill, their ancient government crumbled to the dust.

Passing at once from abject slavery to entire liberty, their conduct was marked by the most shocking excesses. The mild virtues of their king, alleviating but slightly the evils of despotism, could not save him from that resentment which consigned to indiscriminate destruction the hereditary orders. Himself, his queen, and many thousands of the nobility and clergy suffered death on the scaffold. A new government was instituted, having for its fundamental principle the universal equality of man. Its form was often changed, and the reins of authority were successively, but unsteadily, held by the temporary favourites of an unenlightened and capricious people.

The Americans could not regard with indifference this struggle of their allies for freedom. They considered their excesses as the first effects of sudden relief from oppression, and hoped that experience would produce sobriety of conduct and reverence for law. They hailed the French revolution as the offspring of their own, and cherished the flattering expectation that, by the diffusion of the principles of liberty, the whole civilized world would become partakers of its blessings.

The French people, at the same time, regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, they looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The sympathy felt for them was almost universal; and not a few evinced a disposition to rush to their assistance. In some of the seaports, preparations were in progress to send out privateers to prey upon the commerce of their enemies. Washington foresaw that, if such proceedings, forbidden by the laws of nations, were permitted, America would be irresistibly drawn into the vortex of foreign politics and a foreign war. He therefore, in April 1793, issued his famous proclamation of neutrality, declaring that it was the duty of the United States to pursue an impartial and friendly conduct towards the belligerent powers, and warning the citizens to avoid all acts inconsistent with that duty. Wise and expedient as this measure undoubtedly was, yet a vast majority felt it as an unwelcome check to the indulgence of their sympathy for a people struggling in the same cause in which they had just been successful; and some, blinded by their de-

votion to France, began to feel less attachment to its author. Before the date of the proclamation, the new government of France had recalled the minister whom the king had sent to the United States, and appointed the citizen Genet, of ardent temper and a zealous republican, to supply his place. Near the last of April, he arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he was received by the governor and the citizens in a manner expressive of their warm attachment to his country and their cordial approbation of the recent change in her institutions.

Flattered by his reception, and presuming the whole people and the government were actuated by similar feelings, he assumed the authority of expediting privateers from that port to cruise against the vessels of nations who were enemies to France, but at peace with the United States. Notwithstanding this illegal assumption of power, he received, on his journey to Philadelphia, extravagant marks of public attachment; and, on his arrival there, "crowds flocked from every avenue of the city to meet the republican ambassador of an allied nation." Intoxicated by these continued and increased demonstrations of regard, he persisted in forming and executing hostile schemes against the enemies of France, as well on the ocean as against the colonies of Spain upon our southern border.

The British minister complained to the president, who, by the unanimous advice of his cabinet, directed Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, to lay before the minister of France the principles which would regulate the conduct of the executive in relation to the powers at war. These principles forbade the course which Mr. Genet had pursued. Relying on the popularity of his nation, he attempted, by insolent and offensive declarations, to drive the president from the ground he had taken. He threatened to appeal from the government to the people—a measure which other agents of the French republic had adopted with success in Europe. Here the result was different. The people rallied around rulers having the same interest as themselves. The minister was abandoned by most of his friends: his government, at the request of the president, annulled his powers; and, unwilling to return, he remained in the country, a striking example of the imbecility of a factious individual among a people confiding in their rulers, and contented with their lot.

This conduct of Mr. Genet, the atrocities committed by the French people, and the dreaded danger of their example, alienated from them many of the citizens of the United States, especially those belonging to the federal party. And as the world was then agitated by the mighty contest between France and Great Britain,—a contest which permitted not neutrality of feeling,—those who became hostile to the former became naturally the friends of the latter. To her they were besides

attracted by identity of origin, by resemblance of institutions, by similarity of language, by community of laws, of literature, and of religion.

The republicans retained an affection for the French but little, if at all, diminished. They still looked forward to their ultimate success. Surrendering their judgment to their feelings, they indulged hope against the dictates of reason. In discussing foreign politics, each party became embittered against the other. The republicans charged the federalists with hostility to free principles and attachment to England; the federalists charged the republicans with contempt of law and order, and with blind attachment, and even subserviency, to France. Over both, Washington, admitting no thought but for his own country, watched with anxious solicitude, striving to restrain their aberrations, and to temper their mutual animosities.

Early in the session of congress which began in December, 1793, Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, submitted a report upon the commerce and navigation of the United States, made in compliance with a resolution of the house passed in 1791. It exhibited, in detail, the amount of the various articles exported to the principal commercial nations, and of the imports received in return. The exports consisted principally of provisions and raw materials; the imports, of manufactured articles. It is worthy of remark that among the former, cotton is not mentioned. Of the exports nearly one half was carried to Great Britain and her dominions; of the imports, about four fifths were brought from the same countries; and yet of the shipping of the United States not quite one sixth was employed in this trade.

The report proceeded to state the privileges and restrictions of our commerce with the nations referred to. In most of them, the articles produced in the United States were subject to heavy duties, and some of them were prohibited. In England, their trade was on as good a footing as was the trade of other countries; but she enjoyed, in the commercial intercourse between the two nations, privileges and advantages far superior to those which she permitted to the United States. These, however, were not the result of special regulations, but of her corn laws, navigation act, and colonial system.

To remove, modify, or counteract, the various restrictions imposed, by foreign nations, on our commerce, the secretary recommended amicable arrangements as the most eligible; but, if they could not be effected, the interests of the country, in his opinion, required, that countervailing regulations should be adopted. He would impose the same restrictions and burdens on their commerce and navigation as they imposed on ours.

Upon the reception of this report, Mr. Madison submitted

his celebrated commercial resolutions, the most important features of which were, that higher duties should be imposed on the manufactures and vessels of those nations which had formed no commercial treaties with the United States; and that all losses which might be sustained by our citizens from the operation of particular regulations of any country, contrary to the law of nations, should be reimbursed out of the additional duties on the manufactures and vessels of such country. At this time, we had a commercial treaty with France, and none with Great Britain; and information had just been received that the latter nation had issued instructions declaring it to be lawful to send into English ports all vessels laden with grain or flour and bound to France.

Upon these resolutions arose a long, eloquent, and at times acrimonious debate. The speakers too often lost sight of the effect which their adoption might have on the interests of their own country, and viewed them only as the means of aiding France and injuring Great Britain. The principal arguments, pertinent to the subject, in support of them, were, that every nation ought to demand and enjoy equal advantages in her commercial intercourse with all others; that our commerce was so beneficial to Great Britain, that she would, by the adoption of these resolutions, be coerced to modify her restrictions, and to conclude with us a treaty on favourable terms; that such was the course of trade, that we were dependent on her for articles of necessary consumption, and indebted to her merchants immense sums, which were evils of alarming magnitude, as they placed us almost at her mercy, and gave to her an influence over our politics, if not over our national councils; that, ever since the peace, the conduct of Great Britain had been arrogant and hostile, that of France cordial and friendly, and surely, if no other reasons existed, it was just and expedient to reciprocate friendly as well as hostile conduct; that, by refusing to take the manufactures of Great Britain, we should cripple her power and benefit ourselves by drawing from her dominions into ours, those artisans whose wages we in fact paid, but who were not permitted to consume the productions of our soil.

True it is, said those opposed to the resolutions, that our trade with Great Britain is of greater magnitude than with all the rest of the world; but it is so because she manufactures what we want, and sells cheaper than other nations; her merchants, too, give credit, which those of France do not; and credit, to a young and growing country, destitute of capital, is a solid advantage, and essential to its prosperity: that to compel the people to use the manufactures of France might be beneficial to her, but must be injurious to them, for she would supply but few of the articles they wanted, and would

not sell such as she could supply on favourable terms; that as to American navigation, it had already a discriminating duty in its favour, and had under all the disadvantages complained of, gained upon that of Great Britain; in 1789, but one half, now two thirds, of our commerce was carried on in American vessels; that it could not be true that the debts due to British merchants enabled that nation to exercise influence over our politics or councils; they probably had a different effect; Virginia owed them large sums, and her representatives gave a strenuous support to these hostile resolutions; New England owed little, and her representatives opposed them: and that, if Great Britain had given us cause of complaint, by retaining the western posts, inciting the Indians to hostility, and advancing novel belligerent pretensions, the adoption of commercial regulations, injuring ourselves more than her, was not the proper mode of avenging our wrongs.

In February, one of the resolutions was adopted by a small majority. While the remainder were before the house, information was received that other instructions had been issued by Great Britain, subjecting to detention all neutral, and of course American, vessels engaged in the trade with the French colonies. This increasing the animosity against her, a bill was introduced, and passed the house, prohibiting all trade in articles produced or manufactured in Great Britain or Ireland; but, it being known that the executive had determined to institute a new mission to England, for the purpose of making another attempt to adjust all disputes by negotiation, it was rejected in the senate, by the casting vote of the vice-president.

Before this subject was disposed of, another came before congress, upon which the difference of opinion was not less decided, nor the debate less ardent. The president informed congress that he had not been able to negotiate a peace with the dey of Algiers, whose corsairs had lately captured eleven American merchantmen, and made one hundred prisoners. To protect our commerce and seamen, and to punish Barbarian aggressions, a bill was introduced authorizing the construction of six frigates, four of forty-four guns, and two of thirty-six. It was strenuously opposed by the republican members. They objected to it as the commencement of a permanent navy, which would entail upon the country expenses continually increasing, and render it utterly impossible to discharge the national debt. No instance, they said, could be mentioned in history of a nation having a navy and not heavily burdened with debt. Besides, the force proposed was incompetent⁴ for the object; and a navy, unless large, would soon fall as to the great maritime powers of the world. Peace at Algiers, or the protection of other powers, could be had with money, and either would cost less than the con-

and support of a navy. Over these arguments, the honour of the nation, a rich commerce exposed to capture and entitled to protection, and the cries of a hundred citizens suffering the indignity and cruelties of Algerine slavery, prevailed. The bill passed both houses, and received the cordial assent of the president.

After the defeat of St. Clair by the Indians, in 1791, General Wayne was appointed to command the American forces. Taking post near the country of the enemy, he made assiduous and long-protracted endeavours to negotiate a peace. Failing in these, he marched against them, at the head of three thousand men. On the 20th of August, 1794, an action took place in the vicinity of one of the British garrisons, on the banks of the Miami. A rapid and vigorous charge roused the savages from their coverts, and they were driven more than two miles at the point of the bayonet. Broken and dismayed, they fled without renewing the combat. Their houses and cornfields were destroyed, and forts were erected on the sites of the towns laid waste. In 1795, a treaty was concluded at Greenville, which, long and faithfully observed, gave peace and security to the frontier inhabitants, permitting the superabundant population of the Eastern States to spread with astonishing rapidity over the fertile region north-west of the Ohio.

The tax which had been imposed upon spirits distilled within the country, bearing heavily upon the people in the western counties of Pennsylvania, produced their disaffection and disturbance. Great exertions were made to excite the public resentment against those who should willingly pay it, and especially against the officers appointed to collect it. In September, 1791, a large meeting of malcontents was held at Pittsburgh, at which resolutions, encouraging resistance to the laws, were passed; and subsequently other meetings were held, at which similar resolutions were adopted. Committees of correspondence were also appointed to give unity of system to their measures, and to increase the number of their associates.

A proclamation of the president, exhorting all persons to desist from illegal combinations, and calling on the magistrates to execute the laws, was disregarded. The marshal of the state, while serving processes upon delinquents and offenders, was resisted and fired upon. The inspector of the revenue, dreading the indignation of the populace, procured a small detachment of soldiers to guard his house. These were attacked by a body of five hundred insurgents, who, setting fire to several contiguous buildings, obliged the soldiers to leave and deliver themselves up. Several individuals, rting the government, were ordered to quit compelled to obey. An intention was openly the general government with the view of

extorting a repeal of the offensive laws. The effective strength of the insurgents was computed at seven thousand men.

The president, conceiving himself bound, by the most solemn obligations, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," determined to call out a part of the militia of Pennsylvania, and the adjacent states, to suppress this insurrection. In the autumn of 1794, fifteen thousand were detached, and being placed under the command of Governor Lee, of Virginia, were marched into the disaffected counties. The strength of this army rendering resistance desperate, none was offered, and no blood was shed. A few of the most active leaders were seized and detained for legal prosecution. The great body of the insurgents, on submission, were pardoned, as were also the leaders, after trial and conviction of treason. The government acquired the respect of the people, by this exertion of its force, and their affection, by this display of its lenity.

Since the peace of 1783, Great Britain and the United States had each incessantly complained that the other had violated the stipulations contained in the treaty;—the former, that the States had prevented the loyalists from regaining possession of their estates, and British subjects from recovering debts contracted before the revolutionary war; the latter, that the British troops had carried away slaves when they evacuated the country, for which the owners ought to be compensated, and that certain military posts on the northern frontier, and within the acknowledged boundaries of the republic, had not been delivered up. By retaining these posts, Great Britain was enabled to control the trade with the Indians; and she was accused of inciting them to commit depredations upon the frontier settlements. The discussion of these mutual complaints had been carried on with no little acrimony and zeal; and to the list of their wrongs the United States had now others to add—depredations on their commerce, impressment of seamen, and the assertion of rights as a belligerent, which they, being neutral, were not disposed to acknowledge.

In 1794, Mr. Jay was appointed minister to England. He concluded a treaty adjusting most matters in dispute, and, in the spring of 1795, it was laid before the senate. That body, on the 24th of June, by precisely a constitutional majority, advised the president to ratify it on condition that an article should be added suspending a portion of one that it contained. Being doubtful whether the conditional ratification of a treaty was constitutional, he deferred a decision until after his return from a visit to Mount Vernon. Its contents having in the mean time, been disclosed, the republican party exclaimed, in intemperate language, against many of its stipulations. The partisans of France swelled the cry of condemnation.

Public meetings were held, in various parts of the Union, at which resolutions were passed expressing decided disapprobation of the treaty, and an earnest wish that the president would withhold his ratification. Such appeared to be the wish of a great majority of the people.

That any treaty should be made with Great Britain, while she was at war with our republicans, seemed to many an offence that ought not to be forgiven. The particular objections to the treaty were, that it did not allow the United States to trade with the British West Indies; that it omitted to secure indemnity for slaves carried away; that it did not provide against the impressment of seamen; that it expressly acknowledged naval stores to be contraband of war, while the treaty with France provided that they should not be so considered; that it conceded that the goods of an enemy were liable to capture when found in the vessels of either party,—in other words, rejected the principle that free ships make free goods, to which France and the United States had agreed. In these last-mentioned provisions, the treaty was in conformity with the laws of nations; but it was for the interests of America and France that those laws should be thus far altered by international agreement. It was, moreover, contended that the several stipulations in the treaty transcended the limits of the treaty-making power.

General Washington, on his return from Mount Vernon, considering that several of the articles were favourable to the United States, believing that an arrangement of the principal subjects of controversy with England was highly important, and that the treaty before him was the best that could, at that time, be obtained, gave it his assent, on the 14th of August, in defiance of popular clamour. So great was the confidence reposed, by the people generally, in their beloved chief magistrate, that the public sentiment began immediately to change. The friends of the treaty not only increased in number, but gained courage to speak in its defence; and during the fall of 1795, the nation was agitated by a zealous and animated discussion of its merits.

The king of Great Britain assented to the alteration which had been proposed by the Senate, and at the next session of congress it was laid before the house of representatives. A larger proportion of that body than of the people were dissatisfied with it, and in them the feeling of dissatisfaction was even more intense. A resolution was proposed that the president be requested to lay before the house a copy of the instructions to Mr. Jay, and of the correspondence and other documents relative to the treaty. This produced a long debate, in which less was said on the propriety of passing the resolution than on the nature and extent of the treaty-making power.

The friends of the administration maintained that a treaty

was a contract between two nations, which, under the constitution, the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, had a right to make; and that it was made when, by and with such advice and consent, it had received his final act. Its obligations then became complete on the United States; and to refuse to comply with its stipulations was to break the treaty, and to violate the faith of the nation.

The opposition contended, that the power to make treaties, if applicable to every object, conflicted with powers which were vested exclusively in the congress collectively; that either the treaty-making power must be limited in its operation, so as not to touch objects committed by the constitution to congress, or the assent and co-operation of the house of representatives must be required to give validity to any compact, so far as it might comprehend those objects. A treaty, therefore, which required an appropriation of money, or any act to carry it into effect, had not acquired its obligatory force until the house of representatives had exercised its powers in the case. They were at full liberty to make, or to withhold, such appropriation, or other law, without incurring the imputation of violating any existing obligation, or breaking the faith of the nation.

The debate on this question was animated and vehement; all the party passions were enlisted in it; it was protracted through more than a fortnight; and, when the final vote was taken, there appeared to be in favour of the resolution sixty-two, and against it thirty-seven. It was presented to the president; but he, in a firm and argumentative answer, in which he exposed the impolicy of publishing all the correspondence with foreign ministers, and distinctly avowed the opinion that a treaty became the law of the land as soon as it was ratified by the president and senate, and that the assent of the house was not necessary, declined complying with the request. This unexpected refusal added resentment to the zeal of opposition. A resolution was proposed that whenever, in a treaty, stipulations are made on subjects committed by the constitution to congress, the house has a right to deliberate on the expediency of carrying them into effect. After a debate, in which the answer was freely criticised, the resolution was adopted by a vote of fifty-seven to thirty-five.

This treaty containing stipulations which could not be executed without an appropriation of money by congress, a resolution was proposed, that provision ought to be made by law to carry it into effect. This was so far altered as to declare that it was expedient to make such provision; and in this form, after another animated debate, it was adopted by a majority of two votes. The treaty went into operation without further opposition; and the subsequent prosperity, of American commerce, though it may be attributed to other causes,

is strong presumptive proof that the course of the president was correct and wise. It was certainly dignified and independent.

The conduct of Spain towards the United States had ever been cold and unfriendly. She feared lest the principle of liberty, and the desire of independence should find their way into her contiguous American province. During the negotiations at Paris, which resulted in peace, she secretly exerted her influence to cause the western boundaries of the new republic, from the great lakes to Florida, to be fixed two or three hundred miles east of the Mississippi. To the repeated offers, which were afterwards made, to form with her a commercial treaty, and to make arrangements respecting the mutual navigation of that river, she pertinaciously declined to accede.

When the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany Mountains had become numerous, she denied them access to the ocean by the medium of that river, the mouth of which was within her province of Louisiana. She intended, perhaps, to show them the importance of that privilege by withholding it, and to allure them, by the promise of restoring it to submit to her authority. The people of Kentucky, indignant at the deprivation laid their complaints before congress. In bold and forcible language they asserted their rights, by the laws of God and of nature, to the free use of that noble river, and demanded that, at any cost, the acknowledgment of that right should be obtained.

At length Spain became involved in a war with France. Embarrassed at home, and intimidated by the unauthorized preparations which, under the auspices of Genet, were making in Kentucky to invade Louisiana, she intimated her readiness to conclude a satisfactory treaty, should a minister be sent to Madrid for that purpose. Thomas Pinkney was accordingly appointed. In October, 1795, a treaty was signed, securing to the citizens of the United States the free navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean, and the privilege of landing and depositing cargoes at New Orleans.

Thus were adjusted all controversies with two European powers, which, while they existed, retarded the prosperity and disturbed the tranquillity of the country; and from which, at different periods, even war was seriously apprehended. In 1765 a treaty was also concluded with the regency of Algiers, with which the republic was previously at war. It stipulated that the United States, in conformity with the practice of other nations, should, as the price of peace, pay an annual tribute to the sovereign of that country.

Within the last two or three years, several changes took place in the important offices of the nation. On the first day of the year 1794, Mr. Jefferson resigned the office of secretary of state. He had performed the duties of that office with ex-

traordinary ability, and to the entire satisfaction of the president. Having been minister to France at the commencement of the revolution there, he became acquainted with its prime movers, and, anticipating, from their exertions, the diffusion of the principles of liberty and the renovation of the government, was, in the early stages of its progress, its enthusiastic and undisguised defender. Of the republican party he was considered the leader, enjoying their highest confidence and warmest attachment. He was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia.

On the last day of January, 1795, Mr. Hamilton retired from the office of secretary of the treasury. He possessed distinguished talents, and had exerted those talents to establish order where all was confusion, and to raise from the lowest depression the credit of the country. His complete success greatly exalted his reputation; and to him the federalists felt a sincerity of attachment equalled only by that entertained for Washington. With him he had served in the revolutionary war, and had then acquired his confidence and affection, which he ever afterwards retained. Being the advocate of an energetic government, and averse to entrusting much power with the people, he was peculiarly obnoxious to the republican party. He was accused of partiality to England, and of misconduct in office. After the closest scrutiny, his official character was acknowledged by his enemies to be without stain. He was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut.

At the close of the year 1794, General Knox resigned the office of secretary of war, and Colonel Pickering, of Massachusetts, was appointed in his place. In August, Mr. Randolph, having lost the confidence of the president, and having in consequence retired from the administration, Mr. Pickering was appointed his successor in the department of state, and James M'Henry, of Maryland, was made secretary of war. No republican being now at the head of any of the departments, many of the leaders of that party withdrew their support from the administration; and licentious individuals, in their abusive attacks, dared to charge even the president with corruption. But the confidence of a vast majority of the people in his integrity and patriotism experienced not the slightest abatement.

The conduct of France towards the American republic continued to be a source of increasing trouble and vexation. Mr. Fauchet, the successor of Genet, bore, from those by whom he was deputed, the strongest assurances of friendship; but, encouraged and supported by a numerous party, ardently attached to his nation, he gradually assumed towards the administration the tone of remonstrance and reproach. He charged it with sentiments of hostility to the allies of the United States, with

partiality for their former foes, and urged the adoption of a course more favourable to the cause of liberty.

The American government was in fact desirous of fulfilling all its duties to France, and of conciliating her friendship. Mr. Morris, the minister to Paris, having incurred the displeasure of those in power, was recalled at their request, and his place supplied by Mr. Monroe, of Virginia. This gentleman was a republican, and had embraced with ardour the cause of the French republic. He was received in the most respectful manner by the convention, who decreed that the flags of the two republics, entwined together, should be suspended in the legislative hall, as a mark of their eternal union and friendship.

Mr. Adet was appointed, soon after, to succeed Mr. Fauchet. He brought with him the colours of France, which he was instructed, by the convention, to present to the congress of the United States. They were received by the president with extraordinary ceremonies, transmitted to congress, and afterwards deposited in the national archives. In the house of representatives, a resolution was unanimously adopted, expressing the lively sensations which were excited by this testimony of the existing sympathy of the two republics, and their hope, that the brilliant and glorious victories of the French people would lead to the perfect establishment of their liberty and happiness.

But France required of the United States more than professions and hopes, and more than by treaty she was entitled to claim. She wished to make them a party in the war she was waging with the despots of Europe. Failing in this, and jealous of the more intimate relations contracted with her enemy, she adopted regulations highly injurious to American commerce, directing her cruisers to capture, in certain cases, the vessels of the United States. In consequence of these regulations, several hundreds, loaded with valuable cargoes, were, while prosecuting a lawful trade, taken, and the whole confiscated.

Believing that the rights of the nation were not asserted and vindicated with sufficient spirit by Mr. Monroe, the president recalled him, and Charles C. Pinkney, of South Carolina, was appointed in his stead. In the summer of 1796, he left the United States, instructed to use every effort, compatible with national honour, to restore the amicable relations which had once subsisted between the sister republics.

Among the chief actors in the French revolution, at its commencement, was General La Fayette. It was not his wish, however, to overthrow and destroy, but to reform. He soon found that he could not control the storm which he had assisted to raise; and, being known to be hostile to the infuriated leaders of the mob of Paris, they denounced him, while

in command of an army on the frontiers; and he, to save his life, was obliged to throw himself into the power of the enemies of France. Hating him for his devotion to liberty more than they respected him for his love of order and humanity, they confined him, at first in the Prussian dungeons of Wesel and Magdeburgh, and then in the Austrian dungeon of Olmutz. Washington sent a private agent to Berlin to solicit his discharge; but, before his arrival there, he had been delivered over to the Emperor of Germany. He then instructed the American minister at London to make known his wishes to the Austrian ambassador at that court; and, not hearing of his discharge, he addressed a letter, requesting it, to the emperor himself. All these efforts availed nothing. Equally unsuccessful was the daring and romantic attempt of two young gentlemen, Bollman, a Hanoverian, and Huger, of South Carolina, whose father he had visited when he first came to America, to restore him to freedom. They succeeded in liberating him from his dungeon; but he was immediately recaptured, and they were arrested and confined. He remained in prison until Bonaparte, after one of his splendid victories over Austria, demanded his release of the emperor, who then discharged him, but pretended to do it to show his regard for the United States.

General Washington having, at the sacrifice of his own predilections, devoted a great portion of his life to his country; having successfully conducted its armies through an arduous conflict for existence; and having since directed its course through the most critical period of an experiment under a free constitution,—determined to retire to the enjoyment of domestic happiness and rural quiet. In September, he announced this determination to his fellow-citizens, and, feeling for them all the solicitude of a father for his children, he published, at the time, a farewell address.

From long experience, he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the dangers to which the liberties of the republic were exposed. These he deprecated, and warned his countrymen to shun, with all the impressive energy of conviction, and all the ardour of parental affection. He besought them, especially, to frown indignantly upon the first dawning of any attempt at a separation of the Union; to discard local attachments and sectional animosities; to guard against the excessive indulgence of the spirit of party, and against cherishing a hatred of particular nations, and an affection for others.

This address was read with sentiments of profound veneration in every part of the Union. Some of the state legislatures directed it to be inserted at large in their journals, and most of them passed resolutions expressing their respect for the author, their high sense of his exalted services, and the

emotions with which they contemplated his retirement from office.

To fill the station from which the father of his country had resolved to retire, the two great political parties brought forward their chiefs. The federalists, desiring that the system of measures adopted by Washington should continue to be pursued, and dreading the influence of French sentiments and principles, made the most active efforts to elect John Adams. The republicans, believing their opponents less friendly than themselves to the maxims of liberty, and too much devoted to the British nation and to British institutions, made equal exertions to elect Thomas Jefferson.

The result was the choice of Mr. Adams to be president, and Mr. Jefferson to be vice-president. Released from public cares, Washington hastened to Mount Vernon. Having established his fame as the greatest hero and most distinguished statesman of the age, he there, devoting his time to the cultivation of an extensive farm, added to his titles of renown that of the most industrious and intelligent agriculturist of his country.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MR. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

MR. ADAMS was inducted into office in March, 1797. Soon afterwards, he received from Mr. Pinkney dispatches of a most disagreeable and alarming nature. The directory, then exercising the executive authority of France, had refused to accredit him, declaring their determination not to receive another minister from the United States, until they had fully complied with the demands which had been made. He was moreover ordered, by a written mandate, to quit the territories of the republic.

Congress were immediately convened, and the despatches laid before them. Their proceedings indicated a love of peace, but also a firm determination to yield to no unjust demand. Laws were passed authorizing the president, whenever he should deem it necessary, to detach eighty thousand men from the militia of the United States, providing for an increase of the navy, and for augmenting the revenue of the nation. To display to France, and to the world, his desire of peace, and to leave no means unattempted to preserve it, the president resolved to institute another and more solemn mission. General Pinkney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, were accordingly appointed envoys to the French republic, and were instructed, as the first had before been, to seek a reconciliation

as the representatives of a people dreading war much, but the sacrifice of honour more.

These also the directory refused to receive. They were, however, addressed by persons verbally instructed by Talleyrand, the minister of foreign relations, to make them proposals. In explicit terms, these unofficial agents demanded a large sum of money before any negotiation could be opened. To this insulting demand a decided negative was given. A compliance was, nevertheless, repeatedly urged, until, at length, the envoys refused to hold with them any further communication. After remaining several months at Paris, pressing in vain to be received and heard, two, who were federalists, were ordered to leave France; but Mr. Gerry, who was a republican, was permitted to remain, and was invited singly to enter into discussions relating to the commencement of a negotiation.

Information of these events reached the United States in the beginning of the year 1798, and excited general indignation. For a moment, the spirit of party appeared to be extinct. "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute," resounded from every quarter of the Union. Congress were then in session, and immediately adopted such measures as the honour and safety of the country appeared to require. The president was authorized to direct the seizure, in certain cases, of armed French vessels; provision was made for augmenting the navy, for raising immediately a small regular army, and, in case events should render it expedient, for increasing it; a direct tax and additional internal duties were laid.

Upon the treaties with France, concluded in 1778, the new government of that nation founded claims for aid, which the United States denied to be just, and which if granted, would have made them a party in the war. Fortunately for the latter, the former had often violated those treaties. Congress, therefore, referring to those violations in justification, declared that they were no longer to be considered obligatory upon the nation.

It was the avowed object of the new government of France, or rather of the party which had acquired the control of the nation, to disseminate their principles throughout the civilized world. Into every neighbouring kingdom they sent emissaries and spies, who, wherever they went, succeeded in forming a French party, opposed to the existing government, and thus rendered the conquest of those kingdoms the more easy. That such emissaries were sent to this country was suspected and believed, especially by those who had no confidence in the capacity of the French people to appreciate the blessings of free institutions, nor in the sincerity of their professions of attachment to liberty. To guard against all possible evils from that source, an act was passed, at this session, authoriz-

ing the president "to order all such aliens as he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or should have reasonable ground to suspect were concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government, to depart out of the country," and, upon their neglect to obey, to remove them by force. This act was loudly condemned by the opposition, and by most of the foreigners who had emigrated to America. It conferred, they alleged, arbitrary and unconstitutional power upon the president, which might be used to expel from the republic estimable men who had been induced to resort to it by their love of liberty.

One of the provisions of another law of this session, called the sedition law, was condemned, in still stronger terms, by the republican party. It provided for the infliction of exemplary punishment upon the authors and publishers of false, scandalous, and malicious libels upon the president or members of congress. Although it allowed the accused to justify himself by proving the truth of any charge he had made,—thus softening the unjust rigour of the common law,—yet it was declared to be a restriction of the right of free discussion, and a violation of that clause of the constitution which prohibits congress from passing any law abridging the freedom of the press.

To command the army which congress had directed to be raised, the president, with the unanimous advice of the senate, appointed General Washington. He accepted the office, insisting, however, that he should not be obliged to leave his retirement until his presence in the field became necessary, and declaring that he would receive no emolument until he should be in a situation to incur expense. Upon his recommendation, Alexander Hamilton was appointed adjutant-general. In his letter of acceptance, he assured the president that "no man could more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of his administration."

No opportunity was presented of testing the courage and skill of the American troops. At sea, a well-contested action was fought between the American frigate *Constellation*, of thirty-eight guns and three hundred and nine men, commanded by Commodore Truxton, and the French frigate *Insurgente*, of forty guns and four hundred and nine men. The former, after an hour's conflict, was victorious. In a subsequent cruise, the *Constellation*, commanded by the same officer, met and engaged the French frigate *Vengeance*, of fifty-two guns and between four and five hundred men. The combat lasted from eight in the evening until near one in the morning, when the latter withdrew and escaped, having, as was afterwards ascertained, fifty of her men killed, and one hundred and ten wounded.

In the spring of 1800, the *Boston* captured the *Berceau*, of

twenty-four guns. Nearly eighty small armed French vessels, mostly privateers, were also taken and brought into port. Not a single American vessel belonging to the national navy was captured, except the *Retaliation*, which, after being taken from the enemy, was recaptured. Of American merchant vessels, the captures were not so frequent after as before the commencement of hostilities.

The United States, in arms at home and victorious on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy. The directory made overtures of peace. The president, therefore, contrary to the wishes and advice of many of his political partisans,—whose early friendship for France had been changed to animosity by her insults and aggressions, and who expected, and perhaps hoped, that the Bourbons would be speedily restored by the coalition of kings then recently formed in Europe,—despatched a second embassy, consisting of three envoys, to Paris. Upon their arrival, they found the executive authority in the possession of Napoleon Bonaparte, as first consul. They were promptly accredited, and, in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

While this negociation was in progress, the whole American people were overshadowed with gloom, by the sudden death of the father of his country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of one day only, General Washington expired. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling.

Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved, "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the MAN first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed a letter of condolence to the president of the United States. "This event," they observe, "so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be particularly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who maketh darkness his pavillion.

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names

are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reprov'd the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory.

"Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage: let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labours, and of his example, *are their inheritance.*"

Agreeably to the report of the committee, and the unanimous resolves of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn, the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the Union, similar marks of affliction were exhibited. A whole bereaved people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic, funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

An incident has been passed over which rises into importance, from its being an early practical assertion, by Great Britain, of a claim to a right of visiting American vessels, and impressing her own subjects when found on board of them—a claim which, being persisted in, and afterwards more frequently acted on, was a cause of war with that nation. In November, 1798, Captain Philips, commanding the sloop Baltimore, met, in the West Indies, a British squadron, consisting of three ships of the line and two frigates. The British commander gave him notice that he intended to take out of the Baltimore every one of her crew who had not regular protections, as certificates of American citizenship were called, and sent a lieutenant on board for that purpose. Captain Philips protested against this threatened outrage on the American flag; but, perceiving himself completely in the power of the squadron, struck his colours, and told the lieutenant that the ship was at his disposal. Fifty-five of the crew were immediately removed from the Baltimore; but shortly afterwards fifty were returned, and the squadron departed, carrying off the remaining five. Captain Philips, upon his return to the United States, gave to his government an account of the whole transaction. As he had evinced a want of spirit in making no resistance to the boarding officer, they immediately dismissed him from the navy, without trial; and the commanders of all American armed vessels were specially instructed to resist, to the utmost of their power, all attempts to impress any of their crews.

In pursuance of the law enacted in 1790, a place had been selected on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon, for the permanent seat of the national government. Within a district ten miles square, which was called the District of Columbia, a city was laid out, to which the name of Washington was appropriately given. Public buildings having been erected, the officers of government removed to that place in 1800, and in November of that year, congress, for the first time, there commenced its session.

At this session, a bill was introduced to relieve the judges of the supreme court of the United States from performing the duties of circuit judges; dividing the union into six circuits, and authorising the appointment, in each circuit except the sixth, of three judges, to perform the duties from which the judges of the supreme court were relieved. In the sixth circuit, one judge only was to be appointed; and he, with two of the district judges then in office, was to constitute a circuit court. The bill was warmly opposed by the republican party as an unnecessary increase of offices, and as leading to an unwise extension of the action, if not the powers, of the national judiciary. It was, however, passed; and the sixteen additional judges were appointed and commissioned. A law was also enacted authorising the president, whenever he should deem it expedient, to sell all the ships belonging to the navy, except thirteen frigates.

At the close of the year 1800, a presidential election again recurred. From the time of the adoption of the constitution, the republican party had been constantly increasing, and the prospect of success now inspired its members with even unusual ardour. The candidates of the federalists were Mr. Adams and General Pinkney; of the republicans, Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr. In the federal party, a schism had taken place, arising from a quarrel between Mr. Adams and two of its most prominent members, Mr. Adams and Mr. Pickering.—These and their adherents were supposed to entertain even a stronger dislike to French politics, and to be more averse to entrusting much power with the people, than Mr. Adams and his particular friends; and this difference of sentiment, although it did not impel them to abandon the party, had, aided by personal collisions, ripened into bitter hostility. Upon the eve of the election, General Hamilton addressed a private circular letter to many distinguished federalists, in various parts of the Union, in which he pointed out defects in the character of Mr. Adams, and intimated his preference for Mr. Pinkney. By the intrigues of Colonel Burr, a copy of this letter was obtained and published; and this doubtless diminished the zeal with which Mr. Adams was supported, and the general confidence in his election. The principal measures of his administration were brought under review, and presented

to the people as undoubted proof that he was unfriendly to liberty, and desirous of assimilating our government and institutions to those of Great Britain. No charge could have been made which would have been more readily listened to by a jealous people, ardently devoted to freedom, and passionately hating that nation; and some colour of truth was given to it by his frankness in displaying his distrust of the happy result of the French revolution, in evincing his desire of preserving peace with Great Britain, and in the avowal that, for the maintenance of liberty and order, the government should be clothed with ample powers. His enthusiastic support of the American cause, from the very beginning to the end of the revolution, his long experience, his talents and his virtues, were insufficient to secure his re-election. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr, although they received a less number of the votes of the people, yet, in consequence of the provision of the constitution giving weight to three-fifths of the slaves, they received a greater number of electoral votes; and as they received also an equal number, the choice of one of them to be president devolved upon the house of representatives. After thirty-five trials, during which the nation felt intense solicitude, Mr. Jefferson was chosen. Colonel Burr received the votes of the federalists, and lost, in consequence, the confidence of his former friends. By the provisions of the constitution, he became of course, vice-president.

CHAPTER XXX.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

By the recent election, the control of the government was transferred to the republican party. Between this and the federal party, the only points of real difference were, that the former entertained a higher opinion of the capacity of the people to govern themselves; and that they, in interpreting the constitution, sought to restrain, while their antagonists sought to enlarge, the powers of the general government. The great mass of both were sincerely attached to free institutions; and both contained the usual mixture of good and bad men, of patriotic and interested politicians. Local prejudices and interests were not without their influence in giving direction to the course, and warmth to the zeal of the most active partisans.

Mr. Jefferson entered upon the duties of his office in March, 1801. To compose his cabinet, he appointed James Madison secretary of state, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury,

Henry Dearborn, secretary of war, Robert Smith, secretary of the navy, and Levi Lincoln, attorney-general. He found most of the offices under the national government filled by federalists; it was natural that he and the men who elected him should wish that their friends should fill an equal portion; and he set the first example of a president removing men from office, because their political opinions differed from his own.—By the frequent exercise of the power of removal for this cause alone, more strength must be given to the national government, and especially to the executive,—that branch which freemen should watch with most jealousy,—than by the most latitudinarian construction of the constitution which any federalist was ever disposed to give to it. He atoned, in some degree, for this error, by strictly enjoining all men in office, in a circular addressed to them, to abstain from mingling in the partisan conflicts of the time.

The new president came into office at a most fortunate juncture. The machinery of government, recently constructed, and even recently invented, had been set in motion, been tried, and all domestic and foreign impediments to its free and regular action had been removed by his predecessors. The people were happy in the enjoyment of peace; and the importunate call of Europe in arms, for the products of their industry, animated them to efforts to increase those products, which few had ever equalled.

At the next session of congress, a bill was introduced to repeal the act passed at the preceding session establishing circuit courts. It was vigorously opposed by the federalists. They declared that congress could not pass it without violating the constitution. That provided that judges should hold their offices during good behaviour; this bill, if passed, would deprive of their offices sixteen judges who had been constitutionally appointed. The belief that the additional judges were entirely unnecessary, and that the new offices were created solely for the purpose of rewarding political partisans, supplied the deficiency of arguments in favour of the constitutionality of the bill, and it was passed. At the same session, the internal duties, imposed at the time of the commencement of the war with France, were abolished.

A second census of the people, referring to 1800, was completed in 1801. They amounted to 5,319,762, having in ten years increased nearly 1,400,000. In the same number of years the exports increased from *nineteen to ninety-four* millions, and the revenue from 4,771,000 to 12,945,000 dollars! This rapid advance in the career of prosperity has no parallel in the history of nations, and is to be attributed principally to the institutions of the country, which, securing equal privileges to all, give to the enterprise and industry of all free scope and full encouragement.

In 1802, the state of Ohio was admitted into the Union. It was formerly a portion of the North-western Territory, for the government of which, in 1787, an ordinance was passed, by the Continental congress. With commendable foresight, they provided that slavery, the source of weakness, of poverty, and of crime, should never exist in that extensive and fertile region. This is doubtless one of the causes of the unparalleled rapidity of its population. In thirty years from its first settlement, the number of its inhabitants exceeded half a million. The state of Tennessee, which was previously a part of North Carolina, and lies between that state and the river Mississippi, was admitted in 1796.

The right of deposit at New Orleans, conceded to the citizens of the United States by Spain, and necessary to the people of the western country, had, until this period, been freely enjoyed. In October, the chief officer of that city prohibited the exercise of it in future. This violation of a solemn engagement produced, throughout the states of Ohio and Kentucky, indignant clamour and violent commotion. In congress, a proposition was made to take possession, by force, of the whole province of Louisiana, and the injured people of the west were eager for permission to avenge their wrongs, and to regain their rights, by the sword.

A more pacific course was adopted. Knowing that the province had been ceded, although not transferred, to France, the president instituted a negotiation to acquire it by purchase. In April, 1803, a treaty was concluded, conveying it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

The territory thus added to the national domain, was first discovered by the French, who, in 1699, began a settlement within its limits. It continued a colony of that nation until 1762, when it was ceded to Spain. In her possession it remained, slowly increasing in population, until October, 1800, when it was retroceded to France, and by her was afterwards, as has been related, transferred to the United States. The inhabitants, a mixture of French and Spaniards, were not numerous. Its boundaries have never been defined. They embrace, at a moderate estimation, a territory more extensive than some of the most powerful European kingdoms; and in many parts the soil is exceedingly fertile. Its acquisition was considered, by the United States, of the greatest importance, as it gave them the entire control of a river which is one of the noblest in the world.

Since the year 1801, war had existed between the United States and Tripoli, one of the states of Barbary, situated on the coast of the Mediterranean. No memorable event occurred until 1803, when a large squadron, under the command of Commodore Preble, was despatched into that sea. On arriving before Tripoli, Captain Bainbridge, in the frigate *Philadelphia*,

of forty-four guns, was sent into the harbour to reconnoitre. While in eager pursuit of a small vessel, he unfortunately advanced so far that the frigate grounded, and all attempts to remove her were in vain. The sea around her was immediately covered with Tripolitan gun-boats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. The officers were considered as prisoners of war; but the crew, according to the custom of Barbary, were treated as slaves.

At the capture of this frigate, the enemy rejoiced and exulted beyond measure. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur conceived the design of retaking or destroying her. Commodore Preble, applauding the spirit of the youthful hero, granted him permission to make the attempt. In February, 1804, he sailed from Syracuse, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, entered undiscovered the harbour of Tripoli, and, advancing, boldly took a station alongside the frigate. Perceiving the crew in consternation, Decatur sprang on board; his men followed, and with drawn swords rushed upon the enemy. The decks were soon cleared, some being killed, and others driven into the sea.

A heavy cannonade upon the frigate, from the batteries on shore and the coarsairs near, was now commenced, and several vessels of war were seen approaching. She was set on fire and abandoned, none of the party being killed, and but four wounded. Throughout all the piratical states, this brilliant exploit exalted the reputation of the American arms. The president, in reward of his address and bravery, promoted Lieutenant Decatur to the rank of post-captain in the navy.

While the squadron remained before Tripoli, other deeds of heroism were performed, evincing a love of fame and a devotion to country unsurpassed in Grecian or Roman story. The events and operations of this war shed a lustre upon the American name, gave experience and character to the officers, and prepared them to acquire greater glory in a contest with a nobler foe. They were equalled, however, by an enterprise on land, bold and romantic in its conception, and exhibiting, in its execution, uncommon address and decision of character.

William Eaton, who had been a captain in the American army, was, at the commencement of this war, consul at Tunis. He there became acquainted with Hamet Caramanly, whom a younger brother had excluded from the throne of Tripoli. With him he concerted an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and returned to the United States to obtain permission and the means to undertake it. Permission was granted, the co-operation of the squadron recommended, and such pecuniary assistance as could be spared was afforded.

To raise an army in Egypt, and lead it to attack the usurper in his dominions, was the project which had been concerted. In the beginning of 1805, Eaton met Hamet at Alexandria,

and was appointed general of his forces. On the 6th of March, at the head of a respectable body of mounted Arabs, and about seventy Christians, he set out for Tripoli. His route lay across a desert one thousand miles in extent. On his march, he encountered peril, fatigue, and suffering, the description of which would resemble the exaggerations of romance. On the 25th of April, having been fifty days on the march, he arrived before Derne, a Tripolitan city on the Mediterranean, and found in the harbour a part of the American squadron, destined to assist him. He learnt also that the usurper, having received notice of his approach, had raised a considerable army, and was then within a day's march of the city.

No time was therefore to be lost. The next morning he summoned the governor to surrender, who returned for answer, "My head or yours." The city was assaulted, and, after a contest of two hours and a half, possession gained. The Christians suffered severely, and the general was slightly wounded. Great exertions were immediately made to fortify the city. On the 8th of May, it was attacked by the Tripolitan army. Although ten times more numerous than Eaton's band, the assailants, after persisting four hours in the attempt, were compelled to retire. On the 10th of June, another battle was fought, in which the enemy were defeated. The next day, the American frigate *Constitution* arrived in the harbour, which so terrified the Tripolitans that they fled precipitately to the desert.

The frigate came, however, to arrest the operations of Eaton, in the midst of his brilliant and successful career. Alarmed at his progress, the reigning bashaw had offered terms of peace, which, being much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorized agent to the government. Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, and an engagement was made to withdraw all support from Hamet. The nation, proud of the exploits of Eaton, regretted this diplomatic interference, but the treaty was ratified by the president and senate; and thus ended the war in the Mediterranean.

By the constitution, as first adopted, each of the presidential electors was required to vote for two persons, without designating which of the two he preferred for president. The one who received the highest number of votes was to be president; and he who received the next highest number, to be vice-president. If two persons received an equal and the highest number, the house of representatives were to choose one to be president; and the other was to become of course vice-president. This mode of voting, it was supposed, would prevent intrigue, and secure the election of suitable persons for both offices. At the last election, although the republican party

and every republican elector preferred Mr. Jefferson for president, yet Mr. Burr received an equal number of votes, and the party incurred the hazard of having their choice defeated in the house of representatives. In 1803, an amendment of the constitution was proposed by congress, requiring the electors to designate the persons intended for president and for vice-president; and it was subsequently ratified by the requisite number of states.

Colonel Burr, having lost the confidence of the republican party, became, in 1804, a candidate for the office of governor of New York: the federalists generally gave him their votes, but Mr. Hamilton, considering him an unprincipled politician, openly opposed his election. The choice fell upon the rival candidate. A duel ensued between these distinguished individuals, the challenge proceeding from Burr. Hamilton was mortally wounded. This event produced a strong and lively sensation throughout the Union. At the next presidential election, which occurred in the same year, Mr. Jefferson was elected president, and George Clinton, of New York, vice-president, the former receiving all but fourteen votes.

Burr, notwithstanding his brilliant talents, now sank, for a time, into merited obscurity. His future conduct showed, however, that, while unobserved by his fellow-citizens, he had not been idle. In the autumn of 1806, his movements in the western country attracted the notice of government. He had purchased and was building boats on the Ohio, and engaging men to descend that river. His declared purpose was to form a settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana; but the character of the man, the nature of his preparations, and the incautious disclosures of his associates, led to the suspicion that his true object was either to gain possession of New Orleans, and erect into a separate government the country watered by the Mississippi and its branches, or to invade, from the territories of the United States, the rich Spanish province of Mexico.

From the first moment of suspicion, he was closely watched by the agents of the government. At Natchez, while on his way to New Orleans, he was cited to appear before the supreme court of the Mississippi Territory. But he had so enveloped his projects in secrecy, that sufficient evidence to convict him could not be produced, and he was discharged. Hearing, however, that several persons, suspected of being his accomplices, had been arrested at New Orleans and elsewhere, he fled in disguise from Natchez, was apprehended on the Tombigbee, and conveyed a prisoner to Richmond. Two indictments were found against him, one charged him with treason against the United States, the other with preparing and commencing an expedition against the dominions of Spain.

In August, 1807, he was tried, upon those indictments, be-

fore John Marshall, the chief justice of the United States. Full evidence of his guilt not being exhibited, he was acquitted by the jury. The people, however, believed him guilty: and, by their desertion and contempt, he was reduced to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. The ease with which his plans were defeated, demonstrated the strength of the government; and his fate will ever be an impressive warning to those who, in a free country, listen to the suggestions of criminal ambition.

The constitution gives to congress the general power to regulate commerce; but specially forbids it from passing any law, prior to the year 1808, to prohibit the importation of slaves into any of the states then existing which might think proper to admit them. In the exercise of its general power, it had, in 1794, subjected to forfeiture American vessels employed in the trade in slaves between one foreign port and another; and it had afterwards prohibited the importation of slaves into the territory of Mississippi. It had, in fact, done all it could do to put an end to the trade without violating the inhibition in the constitution. Early in March, 1807, before any other nation had prohibited the slave trade, and, as some thought, before congress could act on the subject, it interdicted, under very severe penalties, the importation of slaves into any of the United States, after the 1st day of January, 1808.

The war produced by the French Revolution continued to rage in Europe. The attempts, made by the neighbouring kings, to compel republican France to resume her monarchical institutions, had not only been resisted and defeated by her indignant citizens, but they had followed home the repelled invaders of their country, and had subdued those who began the war with the hope and purpose of subduing France. The nation had necessarily become a nation of soldiers; and one, more daring and fortunate than the others, had been placed at their head as chief of the republic. By his extraordinary talents, and the vast means subjected to his single will, he acquired control over most of the European kingdoms.

England, however, unsubdued and undaunted, had become as pre-eminent on the water as France on the land. Her powerful navy drove every hostile navy from the ocean, and rode triumphant in every sea. America profited from the destruction of the ships and commerce of other nations. Being neutral, her vessels carried from port to port the productions of France and her dependent kingdoms, and also to the ports of those kingdoms the manufactures of England. Few ships were found on the ocean except those of the United States and Great Britain.

The latter, having always found it impossible to man her numerous fleets by voluntary enlistments, had been ac-

customed to resort to impressment, or seizing by force her subjects and compelling them to serve, as sailors, on board her ships-of-war. Soon after the peace of 1783, she claimed a right to search for and seize them, even on board of neutral vessels while traversing the ocean. In the exercise of this pretended right, citizens of the United States, sometimes by mistake and sometimes by design, were seized, dragged from their friends, transported to distant parts of the world, compelled to perform the degrading duty of British sailors, and to fight with nations at peace with their own. Against this outrage upon personal liberty and the rights of American citizens, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, had remonstrated in vain. The abuse continued, and every year added to its enormity, until a feeling of resentment was aroused worthy the best periods of the Roman republic.

But not in this mode only were the rights of the United States invaded, and their interests sacrificed on the ocean. In the war of 1756, between England and France, the former expelled nearly the whole mercantile navy of the latter from the ocean. France, therefore, not being able to carry on safely the trade with her colonies, which, by her colonial regulations, she had before reserved wholly to herself, admitted neutrals to participate in it. A vast amount of French property was thus withdrawn from the reach of British cruisers; and France sustained but little injury, and Great Britain derived but little benefit from her vast naval superiority. Her government and courts, therefore, adopted and enforced a rule, which they pretended to deduce from some principle of the law of nations, and which has been denominated the rule of the war of 1756, that a neutral has no right, in time of war, to carry on a trade between a mother country and her colonies, which the former prohibits in time of peace. This rule was sustained by the plausible argument, that an enemy should not be permitted thus to elude one of the consequences of the superiority which her adversary, by her expenses and bravery, had acquired; and that a neutral could have no rightful claim to a commerce from which she would be for ever excluded but for the successes of a belligerent—to a commerce, in fact, which one belligerent had conquered from another. Under colour of this rule, a large number of American ships, carrying to Europe the produce of French colonies, were, in an early stage of the war and afterwards, captured by British cruisers, and condemned by her courts as lawful prizes.

But even this was not all. An unwarrantable extension was given to the belligerent right of blockading an enemy's ports. Hitherto it had been universally held that one belligerent blockading the ports of another, could not intercept the trade of a neutral with those ports unless a naval

force, sufficient to render entrance into it manifestly dangerous, was stationed before it. In May, 1806, several European ports under the control of France were declared to be in a state of blockade, though not invested with a British fleet, and American vessels attempting to enter those ports were also captured and condemned—thus giving to a British edict the force of law on the ocean.

France and her allies suffered, as well as the United States, from these transgressions of the laws of nations. Her vengeance fell, not so much upon the belligerent inflicting the injury, as upon the neutral enduring without resenting and repelling it. By a decree, issued at Berlin in November, 1806, the French emperor declared the British islands in a state of blockade, and of course authorized the capture of all neutral vessels attempting to trade with those islands. From these measures of both nations, the commerce of the United States severely suffered, and their merchants loudly demanded of the government redress and protection.

For several years, Mr. Monroe, as minister to Great Britain, had been endeavouring to effect an arrangement of the various subjects of controversy between the two nations—imprisonments, boundaries, blockades, and numerous violations of the rights of neutrals. In the spring of 1806, the president, to evince his earnest desire to adjust all disputes, appointed William Pinkey, an associate with Mr. Monroe, and despatched him to London. Near the close of the year, these ministers concluded a treaty with British commissioners appointed to confer with them. It contained no provision on the subject of impressment; and, moreover, information of the Berlin decree having, before it was signed, been received in London, the British plenipotentiaries, on proceeding to sign it, addressed a note to the American ministers, in which they reserved to Great Britain the right to adopt countervailing regulations, should Bonaparte execute that decree, and neutrals submit to it. Mr. Jefferson, on receiving the treaty, decided at once that he would not give it his sanction, and, without submitting it to the senate for their consideration, instructed Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney to proceed in the negociation. And they were explicitly directed not to conclude any treaty which did not provide against the practice of impressment, or which allowed Great Britain to treat neutrals as France might treat them.

Notwithstanding the French people had exchanged their republican for monarchical institutions, a preference for that nation over every other but their own still lingered among the republicans of the United States. That her emperor, a child of the people, was combating and humbling the old despotisms of Europe; that he was warring with England, against

whom they still felt a deep-rooted hostility, increased by her late aggressions,—may account for the hold which France still retained upon their sympathies. On the other hand, the federalists, seeing their prediction, that France would wade through blood to despotism, verified, and perceiving no reason why a French emperor should be preferred to a British king, still cherished a predilection for England. Each party regarded the aggressions of its favourite nation with indulgence, while loudly condemning those of the as other aggravated and unpardonable wrongs.

In June, 1807, an event occurred, which for a time concentrated upon one of the rival nations the whole weight of popular indignation. The frigate *Chesapeake*, while near the coast of the United States, and unsuspecting of danger, was fired upon from the *Leopard*, a British ship of superior force; three of her men were killed and eighteen wounded. Being unprepared for action, she struck her colours, was then boarded by a detachment from the *Leopard*, her crew mustered, and four of them forcibly carried off, upon the pretence that they were British deserters. The truth, upon investigation, was ascertained to be, that three of them were citizens of the United States, had been impressed by the British, and afterwards escaped from their service.

This insolent attack upon a national ship—this wanton exercise of a claim derogatory to national honour—aroused the spirit of the republic. The distinctions of party were forgotten; numerous meetings of the citizens were held; and all concurred in the expression of a determination to support the government of their country in its efforts to obtain, whether by negotiation or war, satisfaction for this insulting outrage.

The president, by proclamation, prohibited all British ships-of-war from continuing in or entering the harbours of the United States. He sent instructions to the minister at London to demand satisfaction for the insult, and security against future aggression. He summoned congress to meet and decide what future measures should be adopted. The British government promptly disavowing the act of its officer, the hostile feelings which had been excited began to subside; but delaying to render satisfaction, and refusing to adopt adequate measures to prevent a continuance of aggression, they were not extinguished nor appeased.

Bonaparte having declared his purpose of enforcing with rigour the Berlin decree; the British government having solemnly asserted the right of search and impressment, and having intimated their intention to adopt measures in retaliation of the French decree,—the president recommended to congress that the seamen, ships, and merchandise, of the United States should be detained in port to preserve them from the dangers which threatened them on the ocean. A law laying an inde-

finite embargo was in consequence enacted. A hope to coerce the belligerent powers to return to the observance of the laws of nations, by depriving them of the benefits derived from the trade of America, was doubtless a concurring motive for passing the law.

A few days only had elapsed, when information was received, that Great Britain had prohibited neutrals, except upon the degrading condition of paying a tax or tribute to her, from trading with France or her allies, comprising nearly every maritime nation of Europe. This was followed, in a few weeks, by a decree issued by Bonaparte, at Milan, declaring that every neutral vessel, which should submit to be visited by a British ship, or to pay the tribute demanded, should be confiscated, if afterwards found in his ports, or taken by his cruisers. Thus, at the date of the embargo, were orders and decrees in existence rendering liable to capture almost every American vessel sailing on the ocean.

In the New England States, the embargo, withholding the merchant from a career in which he had been highly prosperous, and in which he imagined that he might still be favoured of fortune, occasioned discontent and clamour. The federalists, more numerous there than in any other part of the Union, pronounced it a measure unwise and oppressive. These representations, and the real and severe distress which the people endured, produced a rapid change in their political opinions. In a short time, a majority became federalists, and opposed with zeal all the measures of the government.

In the fall of 1808, a new election of chief magistrate took place. At the time of the adoption of the constitution, Mr. Jefferson had freely expressed his regret that it did not contain a provision that no person, having been once elected to that office, should afterwards be eligible. Washington, after reluctantly consenting, at the solicitation of the leading patriots of that time, to be a second time a candidate, had set the example of declining absolutely to serve as president more than two terms. Mr. Jefferson, now, following and confirming the example of Washington, announced his intention to retire to private life. James Madison was elected president, and George Clinton re-elected vice-president.

The complaints against the embargo were listened to by the government, and, early in the year 1809, the law imposing it was repealed. In its place was substituted a law prohibiting all commercial intercourse with France and Great Britain: it contained, however, a provision that, if either nation should revoke her hostile edicts, and the president should announce that fact by proclamation, then the non-intercourse law should cease to be in force in regard to that nation. An opportunity was thus presented, equally to both, for either to resume all the advantages of a free trade with the United States, and to

secure their friendship, by repealing edicts admitted to be violations of the rights of neutrals, and only justified, if justified at all, by the illegal conduct of the adversary nation.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MR. MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

IN April, 1809, soon after Mr. Madison was inaugurated, Mr. Erskine, then the British minister at Washington, addressed a letter to the secretary of state, informing him that his government would be willing to withdraw their orders in council, so far as respected the United States, if the president would issue his proclamation for the renewal of intercourse with Great Britain. The secretary, in reply, assured Mr. Erskine that, should the orders be withdrawn, such a proclamation would be issued in conformity with the act of non-intercourse. Mr. Erskine then stated to the secretary that he was authorized to declare that the orders would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the 10th day of the following June. The president accordingly declared, by proclamation, that the orders would be withdrawn on that day, and that the intercourse between the two countries might then be renewed.

Mr. Erskine was also instructed to propose terms of reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake. On the 7th of April, he addressed to Mr. Smith, the American secretary, a note stating that, in addition to the prompt disavowal of the conduct of the commander of the *Leopard*, whose recall, as a mark of the king's displeasure, immediately ensued, his majesty was willing to restore the men forcibly taken, and to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers on that occasion. Mr. Smith, in reply, declared that "the president accepted the note, and would consider it, with the engagement in it, when fulfilled, as a satisfaction for the insult and injury;" unwisely adding the remark that, while the president forbore to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, "he was not the less persuaded that it would best comport with what was due from his Britannic majesty to his own honour."

The arrangement in respect to the orders in council and the non-intercourse act was highly gratifying to the citizens of the United States. Having been, for some time, almost entirely excluded from the ocean, they rejoiced at the prospect of again enjoying the benefit of an extensive and profitable commerce. But intelligence soon came that the British ministry refused to ratify the arrangement, declaring that Mr. Erskine had no authority to make it. A second proclamation was thereupon issued, announcing that the non-intercourse act was still in force,

and that all commercial intercourse with Great Britain was unlawful. This refusal revived and inflamed the animosity which had been previously felt against that nation; and the conduct of Mr. Jackson, the successor of Mr. Erskine, rendered the feeling still more intense. The British ministry were sorely offended by the concluding remark in the reply of Mr. Smith, accepting the proffered reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake; and their ambassador appeared to be well aware of the feelings of those who sent him. His correspondence with Mr. Smith was, throughout, arrogant in manner and offensive in tone. He stated to him that the mode in which the tender of reparation had been accepted, put it totally out of his majesty's power to ratify and confirm it; and when called upon to explain why an agreement, made with an accredited minister, and executed by the United States, had been disavowed, he assigned, as the reason, that it was entered into in violation of instructions, which instructions had been communicated to the secretary, thus insinuating that the American government, when it concluded the arrangement, knew that Mr. Erskine had no authority to make it. This was distinctly denied by the secretary; but Mr. Jackson repeated the insinuation. He was immediately informed that no further communications would be received from him, and that an account of his conduct would be transmitted to his government.

It was one of the provisions of the non-intercourse act, that all French and British vessels which should, after the 20th of May, 1809, enter the ports of the United States, should be confiscated. Bonaparte, professing to consider this a hostile measure, issued, in retaliation, a decree at Rambouillet, directing that all American merchant vessels which had entered the ports of France, or of countries occupied by French troops, after that time, should be sold, and the proceeds deposited in the treasury.

The term for which the bank of the United States was incorporated extended only to 1811. As early as 1808, the stockholders applied to congress to continue its existence for an additional term. This application was not definitely acted on until the session held in the winter of 1810-11. From its first establishment it had been under the management of federalists; much of its stock was now owned by British capitalists; setting aside its utility as an agent of the government, in collecting and disbursing the revenue, the benefits it directly and immediately conferred were enjoyed principally by merchants and manufacturers, always regarded with jealousy, if not envy, by other classes of people; the opinion that congress had not the power to create a corporation of any kind, was still entertained by many; the application, therefore, met with a warm and decided opposition, and was finally rejected, in the house of representatives, by a majority of a single vote.

It must, of course, have received the support of a considerable number of republican members. Albert Gallatin, who was secretary of the treasury under Mr. Jefferson, and at this time in office, was in favour of the renewal of the charter. He had been a witness to the fidelity with which all its duties to the government had been performed, and was convinced of its utility and safety. It immediately began to call in its debts and to pay its notes; and, that the people might not be deprived of the benefits of a circulating medium, a large number of banks, not less than forty, were incorporated by the state legislatures.

The non-intercourse law expired in May, 1810, when a proposition was made equally by both belligerents, that, if either would revoke its hostile edicts, that law should be revived and enforced against the other. In August, Bonaparte, by his minister of state, assured Mr. Armstrong, the American envoy to France, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, the revocation to take effect on the 1st day of November ensuing. Confiding in this assurance, the president, on the 2nd day of November, issued his proclamation, declaring, that all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited, and that an unrestrained commerce with France was allowed.

Great Britain having expressed a willingness to repeal her orders whenever France should repeal her decrees, she was now called upon, by the American envoy, to fulfil her engagement. She objected that the French decrees could not be considered as repealed, a letter from the minister of state not being, for that purpose, a document of sufficient authority. In answer to this objection, proof was presented that the French admiralty courts considered them repealed, and that no American vessels, although many had entered the ports of France, had been subjected to their provisions. Great Britain, however, still persisted to enforce her orders.

For this purpose she had stationed ships-of-war before the principal harbours of the United States. All American merchantmen, departing or returning, were boarded, searched, and many of them sent to British ports as legal prizes. Impressments, too, were frequent, and the British officers, entertaining exalted ideas of their naval strength, and holding in contempt the republican flag, exhibited, on all occasions, an extreme insolence of behaviour, which was quite as efficient in widening the breach between the two countries as all the captures they had made.

In one instance, however, their insolence was deservedly punished. Commodore Rodgers, sailing in the frigate *President*, met, in the evening, a vessel on the coast of Virginia. He hailed, but, instead of receiving an answer, was hailed in turn, and a shot was fired which struck the mainmast of the *President*. The fire was instantly returned by the commodore

and continued for a few minutes, when, finding his antagonist was of inferior force, and that her guns were almost silenced, he desisted. On hailing again, an answer was given, that the ship was the British sloop-of-war *Little Belt*, of eighteen guns. Thirty-two of her men were killed and wounded, and the ship was much disabled.

Mr. Foster, successor to Mr. Jackson, arrived at Washington in the summer of 1811, and proposed terms of reparation for the attack on the *Chesapeake*. These were, a formal disavowal of the act, restoration to the frigate of the surviving sailors taken from it, a pecuniary provision for those who were wounded, and for the families of those who were killed. These terms were accepted by the president.

But the British envoy could give no assurance that his government was disposed to make a satisfactory arrangement on the subject of impressment, or to repeal the orders in council. These orders, on the contrary, continued to be enforced with rigour; and, on the restoration of a free commerce with France, a large number of American vessels, laden with rich cargoes, and destined to her ports, fell into the power of British cruisers. Such was now the state of affairs, that the United States suffered the evils of war, while Great Britain enjoyed the advantages. Her cruisers, since 1803, had captured nine hundred American vessels.

The patience of the nation was exhausted. President Madison, early in November, 1811, called congress together, laid before them the state of foreign relations, and recommended that the republic should be placed in an attitude to maintain, by force, its wounded honour and essential interests. A majority of the representatives of the people, actuated by the feelings, and expressing the sentiments, of their constituents, determined to act in accordance with the recommendation of the president. Laws were enacted providing for the increase of the regular army to thirty-five thousand men; for the augmentation of the naval establishment; empowering the president to accept of the services of volunteers, to make a detachment from the militia, and to borrow eleven millions of dollars. It was the expectation of many that Great Britain, witnessing these serious preparations, would recede from the stand she had taken.

Events, however, occurred, while congress were in session, which considerably diminished this expectation. For several years, the Indian tribes residing near the remote lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, had displayed symptoms of hostility, murdering a number of whites and robbing others of their property. In the fall of 1811, General Harrison, with a small force, was sent into their territories, instructed to negotiate if possible, but to fight if necessary. On the 6th of November he arrived at Tippecanoe, their principal town, where he was met

by Indian messengers, with whom an agreement was made, that hostilities should not take place before the next morning, and that then an amicable conference should be held.

Just before daybreak, the savages, in violation of their engagement, made a sudden and furious attack upon the troops in their encampment. Nothing but the precaution of sleeping in order of battle, on their arms, saved them from total defeat. A dreadful slaughter was made; but the savages were finally repulsed, dispersed, and their town laid waste. A strong belief was entertained, founded upon credible testimony, that they had been incited to hostility by British agents stationed among them.

In February, 1812, John Henry, who had once resided in Canada, communicated to the president the fact that, in 1809, he had been employed, by the governor of that province, upon a secret mission to Boston, the metropolis of the New England States; and that he was instructed to confer with the disaffected, upon the subject of a separation of those states from the Union, and their forming a political connection with Great Britain. He exhibited documents in support of his disclosures, which he was led to make by the neglect of his employer to reward him for his services. It did not appear that he had succeeded in corrupting the fidelity of any individual; but the attempt, in a time of peace, and in the midst of the most amicable professions, not only preserved in full force, but increased, the previous irritation.

Congress continued to be employed until the 20th of May in making preparations for war, still cherishing the hope that a change of policy in Europe would render unnecessary an appeal to arms. On that day, the *Hornet* arrived from London, bringing information that no prospect existed of a favourable change. On the 1st of June, the president sent a message to congress, recounting the wrongs received from Great Britain, and submitting the question whether the United States should continue to endure them, or resort to war.

In both branches, the message was received and considered with closed doors. In the house, it was referred to the committee of foreign relations, and, on the 3d, Mr. Calhoun, from that committee, made a long report, or manifesto, in which were eloquently set forth the various causes of war—the capture of American vessels engaged in the colonial trade; declaring ports not invested in a state of blockade; the orders in council of January and November, 1807; and the impressment of American seamen: “while this practice is continued,” remarked the committee, “it is impossible for the United States to consider themselves an independent nation.” On the 4th, an act declaring war against Great Britain was passed, the vote being seventy-nine to forty-nine, and sent to the senate. In that body it remained under consideration until the 17th,

when it was there passed by a vote of nineteen to thirteen; and on the 18th it received the approbation of the president.

The measure was decidedly condemned by a considerable portion of the citizens, among whom were many honest and able men. Exercising the undoubted privilege of freemen, they examined with the severest scrutiny, the measures and motives of the administration. They asserted that the war was unnecessary, partial, and unwise: that it was unnecessary, because, in their opinion, a satisfactory adjustment of all disputes might have been obtained by further negotiation: that it was partial, because France had given greater provocation, in proportion to her means of annoyance, than Great Britain: that it was unwise, because the nation was not prepared for war; because, by declaring it against almost the only remaining enemy of France, the United States indirectly but powerfully assisted Bonaparte in his design of universal conquest; and because the expenses and sufferings it must unavoidably occasion, would more than counterbalance all the advantages sought to be obtained. And many, passing the limits of candid and temperate discussion, indulged in a virulence of invective of which no government should be the object that is not manifestly corrupt.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

THE people of the United States remembered, with pride, the patriotism and bravery exhibited by their army in the revolutionary war. A long period of peace and prosperity had increased their confidence in their own strength; and the belief was generally entertained, that victory over the same foe would now be so much the more certainly and easily gained, as the nation was more rich and populous. They did not reflect that peace had impaired the military energies of the republic, while their enemy, by constant exercise in arms, had acquired, not only additional strength, but greater skill to use and apply it.

From the veteran officers, who had acquired fame in the former conflict, a selection was made to fill the principal posts in the new army. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief. He was at the battle of Bunker's Hill. In the expedition against Quebec, he served as a captain under Arnold. He distinguished himself on these and other occasions; and at the close of the war, bore the commission of colonel. He held, for a long time, the office of secretary of war, and discharged its duties with ex-

emplary industry and skill. Thomas Pinkney, of South Carolina, was also appointed major-general. Among the brigadiers were Wilkinson, Hull, Hampton, and Bloomfield.

At the time of the declaration of war, General Hull was also governor of the Michigan territory, of which Detroit is the capital. On the 12th of May, with two thousand regulars and volunteers, he crossed the river dividing the United States from Canada. On the same day, he addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, tendering them the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and assuring them, in a lofty tone, "that his force was sufficient to break down all opposition," and yet was but the vanguard of one much greater. It appeared to be his purpose to attack Malden, and thence proceed to Montreal.

Had the attack been instantly made, success would have been highly probable. A month was wasted in ruinous delay. Distrust and contempt expelled confidence and attachment from the breasts of the Canadians. The ardour of the troops began to cool. Malden was reinforced, and at this critical moment, information was received that Mackinaw, an American post above Detroit, had surrendered to a large body of British and Indians, who were rushing down the river in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the American forces. Panic-struck, General Hull hastened back to Detroit.

Upon his arrival there, he received information of the unfortunate result of an expedition previously dispatched to the river Raisin. Being apprised that Captain Brush, with a company of the Ohio volunteers, had arrived at that place with supplies for the army, and knowing that the woods were filled with Indians, he had sent Major Vanhorne, with one hundred and fifty men, to escort him to Detroit. This detachment was surprised and attacked by a body of British and Indians, and defeated. About six hundred troops, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, were now directed to proceed to the river Raisin for the same purpose. At Brownstown these were also attacked, and a sanguinary battle took place.—Painted savages, filling the air with hideous yells, and British regulars fighting by their side, were, for two hours, resisted by the American troops, and at length driven to the river, which they crossed to Malden. Of the enemy about one hundred and thirty, of the Americans about seventy-five, were killed or wounded. The next day, Colonel Miller was ordered to return to Detroit.

It was on the 8th of August that General Hull evacuated Canada. General Brock, the British commander, immediately left Malden at the head of a force superior in number to the Americans, but composed principally of militia and Indians, and drew nearer to Detroit. On the 13th, Colonels McArthur and Cass, with four hundred troops, were directed to proceed,

on another route, to the river Raisin, and conduct the supplies to head-quarters. On the 14th General Brock erected batteries opposite the city, and began a cannonade upon the American fortifications. Expresses were sent out to recall McArthur and Cass, but were prevented from proceeding by numerous bodies of Indians. On the 16th, the British crossed the river, landing at Spring Wells, about three miles from the city.—Meeting with no resistance, their commander resolved to march directly forward, and assault the fort.

The troops, cool and undaunted, awaited in good order the approach of the enemy, anticipating an easy victory. To the astonishment of all, General Hull forbade the artillery to fire, and hung out a white flag in token of a wish to capitulate. A correspondence between the two generals was immediately opened, which ended in the surrender of the army and of the territory of Michigan.

It is impossible to describe the indignation of the soldiers and citizens, when they saw themselves delivered, by the authority of one man, into the power of an enemy whom they supposed they might easily have conquered. Many believed him either a traitor or a coward. An event so disgraceful, occurring in a quarter where success was confidently anticipated, caused throughout the Union the greatest mortification and amazement. Stung by disappointment, all united in censuring General Hull. His greatest, perhaps his only fault, was want of decision and energy.

The people of Ohio and Kentucky were alarmed. Nearly ten thousand citizens made a tender of their services, and a part of them, placed under the command of General William H. Harrison, marched towards the territory of Michigan. But great and numerous were the difficulties encountered; the volunteers were unwilling to submit to the wholesome restraints of discipline; and winter arrived before any important undertaking could be accomplished. Several incursions were made into the country of the savages, who, instigated by British agents, and by a celebrated Indian prophet, and commanded by Tecumseh, a gallant warrior, had become almost universally hostile. Some of these incursions were successful, some unfortunate; but by the general result the frontier settlements were saved from savage attacks, and the numerous tribes of north-western Indians were disheartened, and driven father into the wilderness.

For the purpose of invading Canada in another quarter, an army of regulars and militia were assembled on the northern frontier of New York. It was far less numerous than the government had anticipated. So happy was the condition of even the poorest class of American citizens, that but few could be induced to enlist as soldiers; and in some of the states the plausible doctrine was maintained, that the officers of the ge-

neral government have no power over the militia until called into service and consigned to their authority by the state executive, and that even then they cannot be compelled to march beyond the national boundary; and some of the governors, when called upon to place their quotas of militia, or parts of it, under the orders of national officers, declined, for the reason that congress could only "provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," and that neither of these exigencies then existed; and, moreover, that the constitution reserved to the states the right of appointing the officers of the militia. The general government was thus deprived of a large amount of one species of force upon which it had relied to carry on the war.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, being the senior officer on that frontier, had the command of these troops, which were called the army of the centre. His head-quarters were at Lewistown, on the River Niagara, and on the opposite side was Queenstown, a fortified British post. The militia displaying great eagerness to be led against the enemy, the general determined to cross over to Queenstown. The first attempt was defeated by tempestuous weather. On the 13th of October, a party led by Colonel Van Rensselaer, effected a landing, although opposed by a British force stationed on the bank. The colonel was severely wounded; but the troops, under Captains Ogilvie and Wool, advanced to storm the fort. They gained possession; but, at the moment of success, General Brock arrived, from a neighbouring post, with a reinforcement of six hundred men. These, although the most numerous, were gallantly driven back by the American troops. In attempting to rally them, General Brock was killed.

The commander-in-chief, who had previously crossed over, now returned to hasten the embarkation of the rear division. Those who had lately shown such eagerness to meet the enemy now utterly refused to pass beyond the national boundary. He entreated and remonstrated, but in vain. Meanwhile the enemy, having received another reinforcement, advanced to attack the Americans in the fort. A desperate and bloody conflict ensued, of which the militia were calm spectators. In the end, the British were completely victorious. Of one thousand men who crossed into Canada, but few effected their escape. Of the American officers engaged in this conflict, besides those mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonels Scott and Christie were highly distinguished for their bravery.

Soon after, General Van Rensselaer retired from the service and was succeeded by General Alexander Smyth of Virginia. In a turgid address to the "men of New York," he announced that, in a few days, he should plant the American standard in Canada, and invited them to share in the danger and glory of

the enterprise. His force was increased, by those who obeyed his call, to four thousand five hundred men. The morning of the 28th of November was assigned as the time of crossing. So tardy were the movements of the troops, that until afternoon the first division was not ready to leave the American shore. The enemy appeared in force on the opposite bank; a council of officers decided that it was inexpedient at that time to cross; and the troops were ordered to debark. They were disappointed and dissatisfied; but their clamour was appeased by the assurance that another attempt would speedily be made.

The next day, they received orders to be in readiness to embark on the 1st of December. But their first disappointment had sensibly damped its ardour. At the appointed hour, the boats were not ready to move; and, when ready, but fifteen hundred men were found willing to cross. A council of war decided unanimously against proceeding, and again the troops were ordered to debark. The plan of invading Canada was abandoned for the season. The blame of these failures was attributed, by the soldiers to their commander; and so highly were they exasperated, that for several days, his life was in danger from their fury.

The army of the north, which was under the immediate command of General Dearborn, was stationed at Greenbush, near Albany, and at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain. From the latter post, a detachment marched a short distance into Canada, surprised a small body of British and Indians, and destroyed a considerable quantity of public stores. Other movements were anxiously expected by the people; but after the misfortunes at Detroit and Niagara, the general deemed it inexpedient to engage in any important enterprise.

Thus ended the campaign of 1812. Although, on many occasions, extraordinary gallantry had been displayed, yet nothing was accomplished, and the losses sustained were numerous and heavy. Those who approved of the declaration of war felt disappointed, mortified, and dejected. They attributed most of the misfortunes of the country to the conduct of the federalists, whom they accused of endeavouring to prevent enlistments into the army, and of maintaining the most pernicious doctrines in relation to the militia. The federalists, on the other hand, attributed these repeated failures to the imbecility of the administration, and to the unwise selection of military officers. They assumed a bolder tone of censure, and evinced a more determined spirit of opposition.

But while, on land, defeat and disgrace attended the arms of the republic, on the ocean, where the injuries which led to the war had been inflicted, they gained a rich harvest of victory and glory. Upon the declaration of war, the American officers and seamen glowed with ardour to avenge the sufferings of their impressed fellow-citizens, and to vindicate the

honour of the republican flag. Those ships-of-war which were ready for sea, immediately sailed in search of the enemy.

The first capture, however, of a ship-of-war was made by the enemy. The *Nautilus*, of fourteen guns, commanded by Lieutenant Crane, leaving New York early in July, fell in, the next day, with a squadron of English frigates, and, not succeeding in her attempts to escape, surrendered without a conflict. Soon after, the *Essex*, Captain Porter, of thirty-two guns, while sailing under the guise of a merchant vessel, was attacked by the *Alert*, of twenty guns. A tremendous and unexpected fire from the *Essex* frightened the British crew from the deck to the hold, and in eight minutes her flag was struck.

On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, who commanded the *Constitution*, of forty-four guns, descried a British frigate. His crew, giving three cheers, requested to be placed alongside of their antagonist. For three quarters of an hour, the latter endeavoured, by skilful manœuvring, to obtain the advantage of position. Defeated in this, she advanced towards the *Constitution*, firing broadsides at intervals. When she had approached with half pistol shot, a tremendous cannonade burst upon her from the American frigate. In thirty minutes, every mast and nearly every spar being shot away, she struck her flag.

She was found to be the *Guerriere*, of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Dacres. Of her crew fifty were killed, and sixty-four wounded. She had received so much injury that it was thought to be impossible to get her into port, and she was burned. The injury sustained by the *Constitution* was slight: of her crew, seven were killed and seven wounded. Although she carried a few more guns than her antagonist, yet the immense disparity of effect clearly demonstrated the superior skill of the American seamen. Captain Hull, on his return to the United States, was welcomed with enthusiasm by his grateful and admiring countrymen, who conferred upon him those honours and distinctions most dear to the patriot and hero.

But this was the first only of a series of naval victories. On the 18th of October, Captain Jones, in the *Wasp*, of eighteen guns, captured the *Frolic*, of twenty-two, after a bloody conflict of three quarters of an hour. In this action, the Americans obtained a victory over a force decidedly superior. On their part, but eight were killed and wounded; on that of the enemy, about eighty! On the 25th, the frigate *United States*, commanded by Captain Decatur, encountered and captured the British frigate *Macedonian*. The former carried a few guns the most, but the disparity of loss was astonishingly great. On the part of the enemy, a hundred and four were killed and wounded; on that of the Americans, but eleven!

The Wasp was unfortunately captured, soon after her victory, by a British ship of the line; the United States brought her prize safely to New York.

A fourth naval battle was fought, and a fourth victory gained, on the 29th of December. On that day, the Constitution, of forty-four guns, then commanded by Captain Bainbridge, captured the British frigate Java, of thirty-eight. The combat continued more than three hours. The Java was reduced to a wreck: of her crew, one hundred and sixty-one were killed and wounded; of that of the Constitution, thirty-four.

These successive victories were peculiarly gratifying to the nation; they were gained in the midst of disasters on land, and by that class of citizens whose rights had been violated; they were gained over a people claiming to be lords of the sea, whom long and continued success had rendered haughty and insolent, and who had confidently boasted that the whole American navy would soon be swept from the ocean.

Many British merchantmen were likewise captured by the American navy; and privateers, issuing from almost every port, and many of them bearing flags inscribed "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights," were remarkably successful. The number of prizes made during the first seven months of the war, exceeded five hundred. Many surrendered without resistance; but many were not captured until after conflicts distinguished by uncommon bravery and nautical skill.

Upon the great lakes, on our northern frontier, the United States were almost destitute of ships-of-war. On Lake Erie they had none; on Lake Ontario, where the enemy had six, all carrying eighty-two guns, they had only the Oneida, of sixteen. In October, Captain Chauncey arrived at Sacket's Harbour, instructed to form a navy on those waters. Committing the charge of Lake Erie to Lieutenant Elliot, he engaged with zeal in providing a naval force for Ontario. He purchased trading vessels, put guns on board of them, and before winter, with a squadron seven in number, but carrying only forty guns, ventured out in search of the enemy. He fell in with the Royal George, of twenty-two guns; but she escaped into the harbour of Kingston, and sought protection from batteries on the shore. The Americans boldly followed, and for half an hour poured upon her a destructive fire; but, night coming on, they were obliged to retire. In the course of their cruise, they captured two schooners and a sloop. On the 26th of November, a new ship, called the Madison, and pierced for twenty-four guns, was launched at Sacket's Harbour, the timber of which, nine weeks before, was growing in the forest.

In the autumn of this year, the quadrennial period for the election of president and vice-president again recurred. The candidates for president were, the incumbent, James Madison,

of Virginia, and De Witt Clinton, of New York; for vice-president, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania. Those who were opposed to the war supported Mr. Clinton and Mr. Ingersoll; and they were joined by many who believed that, should the former be elected president, and should he find it impracticable to make an honourable peace, he would call forth the resources, and direct the arms of the republic, with more decision and energy. Great exertions were made by the partisans of the opposing candidates, and the passions of the people, especially in the Middle and Northern States, were highly excited. Of the electoral votes given, Mr. Madison received one hundred and twenty-eight, and Mr. Gerry one hundred and thirty-one, and were elected. Mr. Clinton received eighty-nine, and Mr. Ingersoll eighty-six.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

AFTER a recess unusually short, congress met again on the 4th of November, 1812. In his opening message, the president adverted to the disaster at Detroit, commented with severity upon the employment of Indians by the enemy, and imputed to the latter all the blame of the atrocities committed; and he stated that to gain the command of the lakes, which he expected to secure by the success of General Hull, active measures had been taken to provide on them a naval force superior to that of the enemy.

He also informed congress that, immediately after the declaration of war, he had communicated to the British government the terms on which its progress might be instantly arrested and negotiations resumed. These terms were, that the orders in council should be repealed, so far as they affected the United States, without the revival of blockades violating acknowledged rules; that all American seamen then on board of British ships should be discharged, and that a stop should be put to impressment from American vessels, giving the assurance that the United States would agree to a mutual stipulation that the seamen of each nation should be excluded from the vessels of the other. These terms were rejected by Great Britain.

It appeared also, from the message and the documents which accompanied it, that the French government had published a decree, bearing date April 28, 1811, repealing those of Berlin and Milan. This date was subsequent to that of the letter of the French minister, assuring Mr. Armstrong that they were

revoked. Why, if a decree was necessary, the letter was written before one existed; why, if not necessary, it was passed; and why it was not sooner promulgated, are mysteries which have never been explained. In May, 1812, it was officially communicated to the British government; and they, on the 23d of June, revoked their orders in council, reserving, however, the right to revive and enforce them on certain contingencies. And it further appeared, that two propositions for an armistice had been received—one from the supreme authorities of Nova Scotia and Canada, the other from Admiral Warren, the chief naval officer on the American station. The former was rejected because it did not appear to have been authorized by the British government, and secured, moreover, to the enemy advantages which it denied to the United States; the latter, because, by accepting it, the United States would have conceded to Great Britain, by implication at least, the right to continue the practice of impressment.

The rejection of these propositions was approved by the national representatives, who, unwilling to abandon any of the objects for which war had been declared, adopted more vigorous measures to prosecute it. The bounty and the wages of soldiers were increased. The president was authorized to raise twenty additional regiments of infantry, to issue treasury notes, and to borrow money. And the prejudice against a navy, which had grown up among those not interested in navigation, being conquered by its successful gallantry, appropriations were made for building four ships of the line, six frigates, and as many vessels of war on the great lakes as the public service might require.

So anxious were the citizens of the western country to regain possession of the territory of Michigan, that, in order to effect it, General Harrison resolved to undertake a winter campaign. General Winchester, with a portion of the army, proceeded in advance to the Rapids of the Miami, where he encamped. Hearing that the village of Frenchtown, on the River Raisin, was threatened by a party of British and Indians, he detached Colonels Lewis and Allen, with about five hundred men, to protect it. They found the enemy already there, attacked, defeated, and drove them into the woods.

After achieving this victory, they ought to have been recalled; but they encamped near the field of battle, a part of them being protected by a line of pickets; and in a few days, General Winchester joined them with a few of his troops. Although near an enemy's post, but little precaution was taken to prevent a surprise. Early in the morning of the 22d of January, they were attacked by a large force of British and Indians, the former commanded by Colonel Proctor, the latter

by the chiefs Roundhead and Splitlog. The troops in the open field were thrown into disorder. General Winchester and other officers made an ineffectual attempt to rally them. They fled, but, while attempting to escape, were mostly killed by the Indians. The general and Colonel Lewis were made prisoners.

The troops behind the pickets maintained the contest with undaunted bravery. At length Colonel Proctor assured General Winchester, that if the remainder of the Americans would immediately surrender, they should be protected from massacre; but otherwise he would set fire to the village, and would not be responsible for the conduct of the savages. Intimidated by this threat, General Winchester sent an order to the troops to surrender, which they obeyed.

Colonel Proctor, leaving the wounded without a guard, marched back immediately to Malden. The Indians accompanied them a few miles, but returned early the next morning. Deeds of horror followed. The wounded officers were dragged from the houses, killed and scalped in the streets; the buildings were set on fire; some, who attempted to escape, were forced back into the flames; others were put to death by the tomahawk, and left shockingly mangled in the highway. The infamy of this butchery should not fall upon the perpetrators alone. It must rest equally upon those who instigated them to hostility, by whose side they fought, who were able, and were bound by a solemn engagement, to restrain them. That they did not is the more indefensible, as General Harrison, always distinguished for his humanity, exerted himself, on all occasions and effectually, to restrain his exasperated soldiers, and the Indians who had joined him, from committing acts of barbarity.

The battle and massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Many of their distinguished citizens, and many of their promising young men, there met death, but found not a grave. Other volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. His army had been weakened, and his plan of the campaign deranged, by the proceedings of Winchester, which were without his orders, and contrary to his views. Not waiting for reinforcements, he marched to the Rapids of the Miami, and there, near the river's bank, he fortified his camp, which he called Fort Meigs, in honour of the governor of Ohio. Near the last of June, it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by Colonel Proctor. On the 1st of May, a cannonade was opened upon the fort.

General Clay, at the head of twelve hundred Kentucky troops, arrived near the rapids on the morning of the 5th of

May. He was met by a messenger from Harrison, who communicated to him his orders. Dividing his force into two parties, he sent one of them, consisting of about eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Dudley, to attack the enemy's batteries on the side of the river opposite the fort; the other he led himself against those near to it. He succeeded, by the aid of a sally from the besieged, in fighting his way into the fort. Colonel Dudley, making an impetuous onset, drove the enemy from their works. His troops, supposing the victory complete, and disregarding the orders of their commander, dispersed into the woods. The enemy, meeting, in their flight, a large body of Indians coming to aid the besiegers, returned, and obtained an easy victory. About fifty were killed; a large number were made prisoners; some crossed the river to the fort; and others fled to the nearest settlements. The enemy sustained considerable loss.

The fort continued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented. On the 8th of May, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief, Tecumseh, they deserted their allies. On the 9th, the enemy, despairing of success, made a precipitate retreat. General Harrison, leaving General Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements; but in this quarter active operations were not resumed until a squadron had been built and prepared for action on Lake Erie.

On the northern frontier of the United States, the British and American forces were stationed near to each other, the St. Lawrence only dividing them, and frequent conflicts between them, therefore, naturally took place. In the winter, small detachments were often sent across from Canada for the purpose of apprehending deserters. They found and arrested several, and, being in an enemy's country, committed depredations upon the houses and other property of the inhabitants. In the beginning of February, Major Forsythe, who commanded at Ogdensburgh, retaliated by conducting a force of about two hundred men into Canada, and attacking Elizabeth town. He surprised the guard, took more than fifty prisoners, released from confinement sixteen deserters, and returned, without the loss of a man, bringing with him public property of considerable value.

Soon after, movements in Canada indicated that an attack on Ogdensburgh was intended, and a small number of militia were called out to defend it. On the 21st, the place was attacked by ten or twelve hundred men, a much larger force than was expected. A brave resistance was made; but the enemy obtained possession, and destroyed or carried away public and private property of great value. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about twenty; a

larger number of the enemy suffered from the sure and steady aim of Forsythe's riflemen.

At Sacket's Harbour, on Lake Ontario, a body of troops had been assembled under the command of General Dearborn, and great exertions were made, by Commodore Chauncey, to build and equip a squadron, on that lake, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the enemy. By the 25th of April, the naval preparations were so far completed that the general and seventeen hundred troops were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada.

On the 27th, an advanced party, led by Brigadier General Pike, who was born in a camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, landed, although opposed, at the water's edge, by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the enemy were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having landed, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the enemy's magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber.

Numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound; the troops halted for a moment, but, recovering from the shock, again pressed forward, and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners. Of the Americans, three hundred and twenty were killed and wounded, and nearly all of them by the explosion of the magazine. The flag which waved over the fort was carried to the dying Pike; at his desire, it was placed under his head, when with the smile of triumph on his lips, he expired.

Having attained the object of the expedition, the squadron and troops returned to Sacket's Harbour. The wounded and prisoners being landed, and other troops taken on board the ships, they sailed for Fort George, on the River Niagara, at the head of the lake. The troops, consisting of about four thousand men, were commanded by General Dearborn. In the morning of the 27th of April, the advance, led by Colonel Scott, and consisting of five hundred men, landed, and was immediately followed by the brigade commanded by General Boyd, then by those of Generals Winder and Chandler. The party led by Scott was exposed, on landing, to an incessant fire of musketry from twelve hundred regulars. It moved on without faltering; and, as soon as Boyd's brigade had formed on the shore, the enemy fled, some to the woods, and some into the fort. A panic seized the garrison; trains were laid to the magazines, and the works deserted. The Americans took possession; and Captain Hindman, entering first, was

fortunately able to remove the match before the fire had reached the powder. In a few hours, Fort George, Fort Erie, and the other fortifications in the vicinity, received new masters. The loss of the British was one hundred and eight killed, one hundred and sixty wounded, and six hundred prisoners; of the Americans, thirty-nine killed, and one hundred and eight wounded.

The remainder of the enemy retreated to the heights at the head of Burlington Bay. At his request, General Winder was detached in pursuit. Having ascertained, on his march, that the British had received reinforcements, he sent back for additional troops; and General Chandler was ordered to join him with his brigade. On the 5th of June, the two brigades, united, encamped on the bank of Stoney Creek. The enemy, then a few miles distant, considering their case almost hopeless, resolved to turn upon their pursuers, and attack them in the night. The sentinels were silently bayoneted; the main guard, who must have been asleep, were passed; but fortunately the Indians, when they arrived near some fires just abandoned, where the troops had cooked their supper, raised their usual yell, supposing the Americans were sleeping around them. This awoke the troops, who, having slept on their arms, discharged their pieces at the enemy standing in the light of the fires which had deluded them. But they soon retired into the darkness, which was intense; and then no one knew where his enemy was, nor which was friend or foe. Several irregular conflicts took place, in which some were killed, and others wounded. General Chandler, intending to place himself at the head of his artillery, found himself in the midst of a British party, and was taken prisoner. A few minutes afterwards, General Winder made the same mistake, and fared no better. Satisfied with the capture of these officers and about a hundred other prisoners, the enemy made a precipitate retreat, losing, however, more than they had gained. The American forces were recalled by General Dearborn to Fort George.

This misfortune was soon followed by another. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, with about six hundred men, was sent to the Beaver Dams to disperse a body of the enemy stationed there to collect provisions and watch such of the Canadians as were friendly to the United States. He fell into an ambuscade, escaped, bravely fighting, to a position which he deemed safe, where he was surrounded and his whole party made prisoners.

While this portion of the American troops were thus employed in Canada, an attack was projected upon Sacket's Harbour, from which post they had been withdrawn, and where a large quantity of naval and military stores was deposited.

On the 27th of May, the firing of alarm-guns, on board of vessels on the lake, gave notice of the approach of the enemy; and they were repeated on land, to call in the militia from the neighbouring towns. On the 28th, the enemy's squadron appeared before the harbour, and, on the same day, General Brown, of the New York militia, repaired to the place, and assumed the command. By his orders, a slight breastwork was hastily thrown up, at the only place where the enemy could land. Behind this he placed the militia, and stationed the regulars, under Colonel Backus, a short distance in their rear. His whole force consisted of about a thousand men.

On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron, and advanced towards the breastwork. The militia had been ordered to reserve their fire until the enemy should approach so near that every shot could hit its object. But they fired much sooner, and then fled in confusion. Colonel Mills, in a vain attempt to rally them, was mortally wounded. The regulars under Colonel Backus met and fought the enemy with spirit; and General Brown, collecting a few of the scattered militia, fell upon their rear. In a short time, they retreated to their boats. Unfortunately, in the first part of the action, information was given to the commander of the navy-yard, that the Americans were defeated; and he immediately set fire to the barracks and store-houses, which were consumed. General Brown, as a reward for his services, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

For several months, no important event occurred on this frontier; but the troops on neither side were inactive. In a skirmish, on the 8th of July, on the Canada side, Lieutenant Eldridge, a gallant and accomplished youth, commanding thirty men, was hurried, by his impetuosity, into the midst of a body of British and Indians. Fighting bravely, most of them were killed; the lieutenant and ten others were made prisoners, and never afterwards heard of. The certainty that their fate was horrible, exasperated, to a high degree, the American troops and people; and the commanding general no longer hesitated to engage Indians in the service of the United States, stipulating, however, that they should spare the unresisting and defenceless.

On the 11th, two hundred of the enemy crossed the Niagara, and attacked Black Rock; but were driven back, losing nine of their men, and Colonel Bishop, their commander. On the 28th, Commodore Chauncey conveyed Colonel Scott, with three hundred men, to York, where provisions and public property of considerable value were destroyed or brought away, and a part of the troops, made prisoners at the Beaver Dams, were released.

On Lake Champlain, both parties began to construct a naval

force; but several barges and two small cruisers were, as soon as built by the Americans, captured by the British. Becoming thus masters of the lake, they attacked Plattsburg, then destitute of the means of defence, burnt the public buildings and several stores belonging to individuals, and carried off great quantities of private property. They also attacked Swanton, in Vermont, where they committed similar devastations.

Meanwhile, upon the sea-coast, a distressing and predatory war was carried on, by large detachments from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. The inhabitants of Lewiston, in the state of Delaware, having refused to sell provisions to the enemy, the village was bombarded, and several attempts were made to land, but they were defeated by the militia.

Early in the spring, another and more powerful squadron arrived in Chesapeake Bay. It was commanded by Admiral Cockburn, who, departing from the usual modes of honourable warfare, directed his efforts principally against unoffending cities, and peaceful villages. The farm-houses and gentlemen's seats near the shore were plundered, and the cattle driven away and wantonly slaughtered. Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Frederickstown, and Georgetown, were sacked and burned. Norfolk was saved from a similar fate by the determined bravery of a small force stationed near Craney Island, in the harbour. A furious attack was made upon Hampton, which, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of its small garrison, was captured, and the inhabitants suffered all which a brutal and unrestrained soldiery could inflict.

The ocean, in the mean time, had been the theatre of sanguinary conflicts, in which the victors gained untarnished laurels. Captain Lawrence, in the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, discovering, in the neutral port of San Salvador, a British sloop-of-war of superior force, challenged her commander to meet him at sea. The challenge being declined, Captain Lawrence blockaded the port, until forced by a ship of the line to retire.

Soon after, on the 22d of February, the *Hornet* met the British brig *Peacock*, of about equal force. A fierce combat ensued. In less than fifteen minutes, the *Peacock* struck her colours, displaying, at the same time, a signal of distress. The victors hastened to the relief of the vanquished; and the same strength which had been exerted to conquer, was now exerted to save. Their efforts were but partially successful. She sunk before all her crew could be removed, carrying down nine British seamen, and three brave and generous Americans. In the battle, the loss of the *Hornet* was but one killed and two wounded; the *Peacock* and her captain and four men killed, and thirty-three wounded.

On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was appointed to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, of thirty-eight guns, then in the harbour of Boston. She had acquired the reputation of an unlucky ship—an important circumstance with seamen; her crew were ill assorted and disaffected, and among them was a Portuguese, the boatswain's mate, who was particularly troublesome. For several weeks, the British frigate *Shannon*, of equal force, but having a selected crew, had been cruising before the port; and Captain Brooke, her commander, had announced his wish to meet and fight the *Chesapeake*. It is not known that this challenge came to the knowledge of Captain Lawrence; but on the 1st of June, as soon as the *Chesapeake* was ready, the *Shannon* being then in sight, she left the harbour.

Towards evening of the same day, they met and engaged with unexampled fury. The fire of both frigates was tremendous and skilful. In a few minutes, and in quick succession, the commander of the *Chesapeake* was killed; Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded; the rigging was so cut to pieces, that she fell on board the *Shannon*; her chest of arms blew up; Captain Lawrence received another and mortal wound, and was removed from the deck: and the boatswain's mate, followed by many others, ran below.—At this instant, the *Chesapeake* was boarded from the *Shannon*, and every officer above the rank of midshipman being killed or wounded, her flag, in fifteen minutes after the commencement of the action, was struck by the enemy.

That fortune favoured the *Shannon* cannot be doubted. That the effect would have been the same had fortune favoured neither, is rendered probable by the astonishing effect of her fire. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride; and in the journals of the day, attended the action. But nothing could allay their grief at the fall of the youthful and intrepid Lawrence. His previous victory and magnanimous conduct had rendered him the favourite of the nation, and he was lamented with sorrow deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colours should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." When the fate of the ship was decided, his proud spirit was broken. He became delirious from excess of mental and bodily suffering. Whenever able to speak, he would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"—an expression consecrated by his countrymen; and he uttered but few other words during the four days that survived his defeat.

The victory was not achieved without loss. Of the crew of the *Shannon*, twenty-four were killed, and fifty-six wounded; of that of the *Chesapeake*, forty-eight were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. Great was the exultation of the

enemy. Victories over the frigates of other nations were occurrences too common to excite emotion; but the capture of an American frigate was considered a glorious epoch in the naval history of Great Britain. The honours and rewards bestowed upon Captain Brooke were such as had never before been received but by the conqueror of a squadron. These demonstrations of triumph were inadvertent confessions of American superiority; and were, to the vanquished themselves, sources of triumph and consolation.

The next encounter at sea was between the American brig *Argus* and the British brig *Pelican*. The latter was of superior force, and was victorious. Soon after, the American brig *Enterprise*, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig *Boxer*, commanded by Captain Blyth. These vessels were of about equal force; but the greater effect of the fire of the *Enterprise* furnished to the Americans another proof of the superior skill of their seamen. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, by each other's side, in Portland.

The cruise of Captain Porter, in the frigate *Essex*, of thirty-two guns, which continued during the whole of this year, was distinguished for the boldness of its plan, and the bravery and perseverance displayed in the course of it. He left the United States in October, 1812, a few days after the departure of Commodore Bainbridge, in the *Constitution*, and was directed to seek him at several designated stations, on the eastern coast of South America. If he found him at either, he was to cruise under his orders; if not, he was left at liberty to act according to his discretion. On the 12th of December, after crossing the equator, he captured the British packet *Nocton*, of ten guns, having on board fifty-five thousand dollars in specie. On the 29th, he took a merchant vessel; and, learning that she had sailed in company with five others, he went in pursuit of them. Being thus delayed, he did not arrive at the last designated station, until Captain Bainbridge, having captured the *Java*, had departed for home.

He now resolved to double Cape Horn, and cruise in the Pacific Ocean. He knew that the British had many whale ships in that sea, which might be captured, and the Americans many that ought to be protected. If successful, he could live upon the enemy; if he found no enemy, the funds he had already obtained would support him. In two months, after encountering tempests of unusual severity, he entered the harbour of Valparaiso, on the western coast of the continent. He there found an American whale ship, and learned that many others were abroad in the Pacific, at the mercy of those of the enemy, most of which were armed, and commissioned as privateers.

Captain Porter immediately proceeded on his cruise. In a few days, he took a Peruvian privateer, and released two American vessels, which she, supposing that Spain, then dependent on England, had also declared war against the United States, had captured. In April, he took three prizes, and, with the means they afforded, in the midst of the Pacific, fitted up one of them as a cruiser, carrying sixteen guns, repaired his own ship, and replenished his stores. Continuing to cruise, he captured nine other vessels, some of which, not having men to put on board of them, he dismantled and restored; some he sent home; and others he fitted up as cruisers, thus increasing his own force to a respectable squadron. In the whole, he captured four thousand tons of shipping, and made nearly four hundred prisoners; and but for his presence in that sea, most of the American whale ships would have fallen into the power of the enemy.

In December, having learned that the *Phebe*, of thirty-six guns, had been sent in pursuit of him, he repaired to Valparaiso, presuming he should there find his antagonist. She came soon after, but brought with her the *Cherub*, of twenty guns. These, with the *Essex* and *Essex Junior*, remained for some time at anchor in the harbour, in which, being a neutral port, the laws of nations forbade any conflict. The English ships then went to sea, and cruised for six weeks in the vicinity.—During this time, Captain Porter made many efforts to bring on an action between the *Essex* and the *Phebe*; but the latter declined any contest, unless aided by her consort. Being informed that other British ships were expected, he determined to make his escape. While sailing out of the harbour, a squall carried away his main topmast. Not being able, in the crippled state of his ship, to return to the common anchorage, he placed her in another part of the harbour, where she was as much under the protection of the law of nations as before.—Thus situated, the *Phebe* and *Cherub* approached, and attacked her. She returned the fire with spirit, and compelled them to retire and repair damages. Returning, they took a position where they could use their long guns, and the *Essex* only her carronades, the shot from which did not reach them. Captain Porter then bore down upon his antagonists, and, for a few minutes, the firing on both sides was tremendous. The slaughter on board the *Essex* was horrible. At one gun, fifteen men, or three entire crews, were killed or wounded. Yet the British ships bore away, to place themselves beyond the reach of her carronades, still keeping her within reach of their long guns. After attempting in vain to take a new position, and then to run his ship on shore, exposed all the time to the fire of the enemy, Captain Porter struck his flag. He would have

been fully justified, had he tempered his bravery with discretion, and surrendered at an earlier period of the battle.

The crew of the Essex consisted of two hundred and fifty five men. Of these, fifty-eight were killed, sixty-six were wounded, and thirty-one were missing, the latter being drowned in attempting to swim to the shore. The Phebe and Cherub lost but five killed and ten wounded. The prisoners were sent home in the Essex Junior, and on their arrival were, without being exchanged, discharged from their parole by the assent of the British commissary of prisoners.

Not in public ships only was displayed the gallantry of American seamen. A large number of privateers were fitted out, seeking riches chiefly, but not unmindful of the glory of victory. Many were signally successful in capturing rich prizes; but the general belief that Providence blesses not wealth so acquired was strengthened by the quickness with which it vanished, having fixed upon its possessor habits of extravagance, and leaving behind it the love of pleasure which could no longer be gratified. Sometimes, in their search for merchantmen, they met with hostile privateers, or public ships-of-war, and then they showed themselves worthy of the flag which waved over them. In August, the American privateer Decatur, mounting seven guns, and manned with one hundred and three men, fell in with the British schooner *Dominica*, of sixteen guns and eighty-three men. For two hours, the two ships continued manœuvring and firing, the Decatur seeking to board her antagonist, and she to escape. At length the former was placed in such position that a part of her crew passed, upon the bowsprit, into the stern of the latter. The firing, on both sides, from cannon and musketry, was now terrible. In a short time, the two ships came in contact, broadside to broadside, and the remainder of the Decatur's crew rushed upon her enemy's deck. Fire-arms were thrown aside, and the men fought hand to hand, using cutlasses and throwing shot. Nearly all the officers of the *Dominica* being killed, her flag was hauled down by the conquerors. Of her crew of eighty-three, sixty were killed or wounded; of that of the Decatur, but nineteen. The next day, the latter captured a merchantman, laden with a valuable cargo, and conducted both prizes into the harbour of Charleston.

The blockade of our ports, the occupation of our harbours, and the depredations committed on our coasts, brought to recollection the invention of Bushnell, which had been unsuccessfully tried during the revolutionary war. It had received the name of *torpedo*. It was a strong metal globe containing powder, and being placed under a ship, and the powder ignited, which could be done in various ways, would blow it up. At the last session of congress, an act was passed de-

declaring it lawful to use torpedoes, and offering to any one who should, by the use of them, destroy a British vessel, one half the value of it, as a reward. In July, several attempts were made by individuals to place one under the Plantagenet, a British ship of the line at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay. All were frustrated by the vigilance of the sentinels; but, on the last trial, one was so placed as to explode near the ship. It threw up, to a great height, a column of water fifty feet in circumference. Much of it fell on the ship, which rolled into the chasm produced by the displacement of the water, and was nearly upset. Other attempts were made; and, although none were successful, yet the constant dread of the lurking danger compelled the enemy to be cautious in their movements, and in choosing their stations, and considerably diminished the efficiency of their naval force on our coasts. They, and even some of our own citizens, condemned, in strong terms, the use of these secret instruments of destruction, as dishonourable in war; but failed to show why it was more so than the resort to surprises, ambushes, and mines.

The events of the war again call our attention to the north-western frontier. While each nation was busily employed in equipping a squadron on Lake Erie, General Clay remained inactive at Fort Meigs. About the last of July, a large number of British and Indians appeared before the fort, hoping to entice the garrison to a general action in the field. After waiting a few days without succeeding, they decamped, and proceeded to Fort Stephenson, on the River Sandusky. This fort was little more than a picketing surrounded by a ditch; and the garrison consisted of one hundred and sixty men, who were commanded by Major Croghan, a youth of twenty-one. On the 1st of August, it was invested by five hundred regulars and eight hundred Indians.

After a cannonade, which continued two days, the enemy, in the evening, supposing a breach had been made, advanced to assault the works. Anticipating this, Major Croghan had planted a six pounder, the only piece of cannon in the fort, in a position to enfilade the ditch. It was loaded with grape-shot and slugs, and was discharged the instant the assailants arrived before it. An incessant fire of musketry was also poured upon them by the soldiers behind the pickets. The British commander and many of his men were killed, and many others severely wounded. The remainder, in haste and disorder, retreated to their former position, and at dawn of day retired to Malden. The youthful Croghan, for his valour and good conduct, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He and his brave companions received the thanks of congress; and, to evince their respect for his virtues, the ladies of Chillicothe presented to him an elegant sword.

In the mean time, by the exertions of Commodore Perry, an American squadron had been prepared for service on Lake Erie. It consisted of nine small vessels, all carrying fifty-four guns. A British squadron had also been built and equipped, under the superintendence of Commodore Barclay. It consisted of six vessels, mounting sixty-three guns.

Commodore Perry, immediately sailing, offered battle to his adversary. On the 10th of September, the British commander having the wind in his favour, left the harbour of Malden, to accept the offer. In a few hours, the wind shifted, giving the Americans the advantage. Perry, forming the line of battle, hoisted his flag, on which were inscribed the words of the dying Lawrence—"Don't give up the ship." Loud huzzas from all the vessels proclaimed the animation with which this motto inspired their patriotic crews.

About noon, the firing commenced; but, the wind being light, the Lawrence, the commodore's flag ship, was the only American vessel that could, at first, engage in close action. For two hours, she contended alone with two vessels, each nearly her equal in force. All but seven of her crew were either killed or wounded; and she, by the damage she had received, was rendered wholly unmanageable. Leaving her, Commodore Perry, proceeding in an open boat through the midst of the fire, transferred the flag to the Niagara, which, the wind having increased, was approaching the enemy. Soon after, the colours of the Lawrence were struck; the British gave three cheers, supposing the victory gained; and, for a few minutes, both parties ceased firing. The wind continuing to increase, Captain Perry made signal for close action. This order was received with three cheers, and was obeyed with alacrity. The Niagara was placed within half pistol shot of her antagonists, and the other vessels soon came to her assistance. The fire was incessant and tremendous; and the shrieks from the enemy proved that its effect was terrible. In twenty minutes, a cry was heard that the enemy had struck; and, when the smoke cleared away, an officer of one of the British ships was seen waving a white handkerchief. At four o'clock, the brave and fortunate Perry despatched to General Harrison this laconic epistle: "We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

Great was the joy which this brilliant victory occasioned throughout the Union. That it was achieved over a superior force; that it was the first ever gained over a squadron; that it was entirely decisive; that it opened the way to the recovery of all that had been lost by the defeat of General Hull,—were circumstances which threw every other victory into the shade, and cast the brightest lustre upon the characters of the heroes who had gained it. At every place that he visited, the

gallant Perry received the most flattering proofs of a nation's gratitude and love.

As soon as General Harrison, who had been joined by Governor Shelby with a large body of Kentucky militia, received intelligence of this victory, he hastened to the lake, and was conveyed by the vessels to Malden. The British commander, anticipating this movement, had abandoned that place, which, on the 28th of September, was occupied, without opposition, by the American army.

General Harrison soon set out in pursuit of the enemy, and was accompanied by Commodore Perry as his volunteer aid. He proceeded to Sandwich, and there learnt that his adversary was posted on the right bank of the river Thames, about sixty miles distant. He hastened to that river, ascended it, and, on the 5th of October, came within view of the fugitives, then near the Moravian villages, and drawn up, across his line of march, in the woods. They amounted to about two thousand in number, of whom from one thousand to one thousand five hundred were Indians. His force consisted of rather more than three thousand men, mostly volunteer militia from Kentucky, commanded by Governor Shelby, one regiment of which was mounted, and led by Colonel Johnson. This regiment being drawn up in front, the order was given to advance upon the enemy's left, consisting of regular troops. On receiving their fire, the volunteers rushed to the charge with such impetuosity that a part of them broke through the British line, and then, wheeling round, poured a destructive fire upon the rear. In a few minutes, the victory over this wing was complete, with no other loss than three Americans wounded.

Upon the other wing, the battle was more furious and sanguinary. There the Indians, commanded by Tecumseh, were posted. They sprang to the attack with savage ferocity, and the first shock was bravely sustained by the opposing flank of the mounted infantry, where Colonel Johnson had stationed himself. The infantry on foot, outflanking those mounted, at first recoiled; but soon recovering, and Governor Shelby coming to their aid, the Indians fled. Of the enemy, nineteen whites were killed, fifty were wounded, and about six hundred, nearly the whole, made prisoners. Of the savages, one hundred and twenty were left dead on the field, of whom one was Tecumseh, the bravest, ablest, and most magnanimous of Indian chieftains. Among the trophies of victory were several cannons captured at Saratoga, surrendered at Detroit, and now recaptured. The American loss in killed and wounded was fifty.

The result of this victory was, the recovery of all the territory of the United States which had been surrendered by General Hull, and peace with the numerous tribes of north-western

Indians. General Harrison, leaving General Cass in command at Detroit, and permitting a portion of the volunteers to return home, again embarked with the remainder of his troops, on board the vessels, and, on the 24th, arrived at Buffalo, thus increasing the strength of the army of the centre. Shortly afterwards, he returned to Ohio, and there continued to officiate as commander of the military district, embracing all the territory north-west of the river of that name.

Previous to the events just related, General Dearborn, in consequence of severe indisposition, was withdrawn from active service, and General Wilkinson appointed to command the army of the centre, which comprised about seven thousand men. Having received orders, from the secretary of war, to descend the St. Lawrence and attack Montreal, he directed the scattered detachments to assemble at Grenadier Island, on Lake Ontario. Such were the difficulties attending the concentration of the troops, and such, perhaps, the want of vigour in the commander, that the flotilla, upon which they embarked, did not get under way until the 5th of November.

Their progress was impeded by parties which the enemy, at every convenient position, had stationed on the Canada shore. To disperse these, a body of troops, under the command of General Brown, was landed, and directed to march in advance of the boats. At Chrystler's Fields, on the 11th of November, a body of the enemy, of equal force, was encountered. In the battle which ensued, both fought with resolute bravery, and both claimed the victory. The loss of the Americans was greatest; but they drove the enemy from their position, and enabled the flotilla to pass unmolested.

The next day, it arrived at St. Regis. At this place, General Hampton, who commanded the troops at Plattsburgh, had been ordered to meet the main army, and no doubt had been entertained of his disposition and ability to comply with the order. But here General Wilkinson, to his surprise and mortification, was informed that the contemplated junction would not take place. The project of attacking Montreal was abandoned, and the army under Wilkinson, marching to French Mills, there encamped for the winter.

This abortive issue of the campaign occasioned murmurs throughout the nation. The causes which led to it have never been fully developed. The severest censure fell upon General Armstrong, who was secretary of war, and upon General Hampton. The latter soon after resigned his commission in the army, and General Izard was selected to command the post at Plattsburgh.

But after the close of the campaign, disastrous events happened on the northern frontier. When the main army descended the St. Lawrence, to attack Montreal, an inadequate

force was left in Fort George, under the command of General M'Clure. Receiving intelligence that the enemy were approaching him, he, on the 10th of December, removed the stores, destroyed the fort, and withdrew to the south side of the Niagara. He had been authorized to set fire to the village of Newark, situated near, should it become necessary in defending the fort when assaulted. Transcending, perhaps misconceiving, his orders, he, on leaving Canada, after giving notice to the inhabitants, set it on fire, and several buildings were consumed. This act was immediately disavowed and censured by the government.

Fort Niagara, on the south side of the river, was, at this time, garrisoned by about three hundred troops, under the command of Captain Leonard. Early in the morning of the 19th, the captain being culpably absent, a British party crossed the river, and entered the fort before the troops within it were aware of their approach. Sixty-five were killed, fifteen wounded, all by the bayonet; and the remainder made prisoners. Detachments were sent to Lewiston, Manchester, and Youngstown, where many houses and much property were burnt and several people killed. On the 30th, another party landed at Black Rock, and marched to Buffalo, which was reduced to ashes. A large extent of frontier was made desolate, and many thousands of the inhabitants fled to distant places for safety, suffering, in their flight, at this inclement season, the extremity of wretchedness.

In the progress of our narrative, some events have been passed over which will now be related. In the early part of this year, the Emperor of Russia offered his mediation to the two powers at war. On the part of the United States, the offer was promptly accepted, and Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard, were appointed commissioners to negotiate, at St Petersburg, a peace under the proffered mediation.

On the 24th of May, congress was convened by proclamation of the president. Laws were enacted imposing a direct tax of three millions of dollars; authorizing the collection of various internal duties; providing for a loan of seven and a half millions of dollars; and prohibiting the merchant vessels of the United States from sailing under British licenses. Near the close of the session, a committee, appointed to inquire into the subject, made a long report upon the spirit and manner in which the war had been conducted by the enemy. Many proofs were presented of shameful departures from the rules of warfare observed by civilized nations.

In September, Commodore Chauncey made two cruises upon Lake Ontario, and repeatedly offered battle to the enemy's squadron, which was superior in force; but Sir James Yeo, the British commander, intimidated by the result of the battle

on Lake Erie, retired before him. On one occasion, however, in a running fight, his ships sustained considerable injury. In the same month, Captain Rodgers, commander of the frigate *President*, returned from a long cruise, in which he visited the north seas, and made a circuit around Ireland. He captured eleven merchantmen and an armed schooner; escaped from several ships of the line; but had no opportunity of contending with any ship-of-war of less force.

The Indians at the southern extremity of the Union had imbibed the same hostile spirit as those at the north-western. They had been visited by Tecumseh, and by his eloquence, persuaded, that the Great Spirit required them to unite and attempt the extirpation of the whites, and had promised them victory as the reward of their exertions. In the fall of 1812, a cruel war was carried on, by the Creeks and Seminoles, against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. General Jackson, at the head of two thousand five hundred volunteers from Tennessee, marched into the country of the Indians. They, overawed by his presence, desisted for a time from hostility; but, after his return, their animosity burst forth with increased and fatal violence.

Dreading their cruelty, about three hundred men, women, and children, sought safety in Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement. Although frequent warnings of an intended attack had been given them, yet, at noonday, on the 30th of August, they were surprised by a party of six hundred Indians, who with axes cut their way into the fort, and drove the people into the houses which it enclosed. To these they set fire. Many persons were burned, and many killed by the tomahawk. Only seventeen escaped to carry the horrid tidings to the neighbouring stations.

The whites resolved on vengeance. Again General Jackson, at the head of three thousand five hundred militia of Tennessee, marched into the southern wilderness. A detachment under General Coffee encountering, at Tallushatchie, a body of Indians, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The latter fought with desperation, neither giving nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior had perished.

At Talladega, another battle was fought, in which three hundred Indians perished. The rest of the party, exceeding seven hundred, fled. General Jackson's provisions being exhausted, he was unable to pursue them. While on his return to the settlements, to obtain a supply, his troops became refractory, and even mutinous. Nearly all returned to their homes; but to the small number that remained were soon added a reinforcement of one thousand mounted volunteers.

At the head of this force, he marched to Emucklaw, within a bend of the Tallapoosa, where a body of the enemy were

posted. To several skirmishes succeeded a general battle, in which the whites were victorious, but sustained considerable loss. For the relief of the wounded, Jackson returned to Fort Strother, where the volunteers were discharged. General White from East Tennessee, and General Floyd from Georgia, led separate expeditions against the Indians, and were victorious in every combat. So enraged were the savages, that but few would accept of quarter or seek safely in retreat.

Yet still was the spirit of the Creeks unsubdued, and their faith in victory unshaken. With no little sagacity and skill, they selected and fortified another position on the Tallapoosa, called by themselves Tohopeka, and by the whites Horse-shoe Bend. Here nearly a thousand warriors, animated with a fierce and determined resolution, were collected. Three thousand men, commanded by General Jackson, marched to attack this post. To prevent escape, a detachment, under General Coffee, encircled the Bend. The main body, keeping within it, advanced to the fortress. For a few minutes, the opposing forces were engaged, muzzle to muzzle, at the port-holes. Soon the troops, leaping over the walls, mingled with the savages. The combat was furious and sanguinary. The Indians, fleeing at length to the river, beheld the troops on the opposite bank. Returning, they fought with increased fury and desperation, and continued to resist until night. Six hundred warriors were killed; four only yielded themselves prisoners; the remaining three hundred escaped. Of the whites, fifty-five were killed, and one hundred and forty-six were wounded.

It was expected that another stand would be made, by the Indians, at a place called the Hickory Ground. General Jackson marched thither in April. The principal chiefs came out to meet him, and among them was Wetherford, a half-blood, distinguished equally for his talents and cruelty. "I am in your power," said he; "do with me what you please. I commanded at Fort Mimms. I have done the white people all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. There was a time when I had a choice; I have none now; even hope is ended. Once I could animate my warriors; but I cannot animate the dead. They can no longer hear my voice; their bones are at Tallushatchie, Talladega, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. While there was a chance of success, I never supplicated peace; but my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation and myself." Peace was concluded, and the brave General Jackson and his troops enjoyed an honourable but short repose.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814, AND TERMINATION
OF THE WAR.

It will be remembered that one of the causes, indeed the principal cause, of the war was the impressment of seamen from American ships. Great Britain founded her claim to exercise this practice upon a law of the old feudal system, once prevalent in most parts of Europe, that no person could ever release himself from the allegiance which by birth he owed to his immediate lord, and of course to the sovereign of the country in which he was born; and that he was liable to be seized by that sovereign wherever he might be found out of the territorial jurisdiction of any other nation. In exercising her pretended right, she paid no regard to the fact that her former subject had abandoned his native country, chosen another for his home, and being naturalized according to the laws there in force. Indeed, her officers, when they visited American ships in search of men, often impressed every one on board who could not prove by such evidence as they thought proper to require, that he was a native citizen of the United States. If he was such, in fact, but had neglected to procure the proof, or had lost it, or if he was a native of some European kingdom, he was taken to fight the battles of Great Britain; the American flag not being regarded as any protection to the men who sailed under it. The fact, that nearly two thousand impressed American seamen were, after the beginning of the war, discharged from British ships, many of them, and perhaps all, after declaring their resolute determination not to fight against their own country, will give some idea of the extent to which this abuse was carried.

In some of the vessels taken by the enemy since the commencement of hostilities, were found seamen borne within her dominions. These were detained, not as prisoners of war, but as British subjects, and were sent to England to be tried for high treason; and twenty-three soldiers, who had been captured at Queenston, were treated in the same manner. The United States, owing their existence to emmigration, holding themselves out as the asylum of the poor and oppressed of all nations, could not recognize the doctrine of barbarous and despotic ages, that no man could transfer his allegiance; nor could they desert or neglect those to whom they had promised protection, and who had encountered peril in their service. By the orders of the government, therefore, the same number of British seamen and soldiers were placed in strict confinement,

and notice was given that if any of those sent to England for trial should be executed, the same number of those held, in confinement would be put to death. Sir George Provost, the commander-in-chief in Canada, then confined forty-six American officers, and declared that their fate depended upon the fate of the British prisoners confined by the Americans. The Americans, therefore confined forty-six British, and Sir George, Provost forty-six other American officers.

At the session of congress held in the winter of 1813-14, the subjects of perpetual allegiance and of retaliation were brought before congress. The result of an earnest and able debate was the determination of the government to maintain the position they had taken. Shortly afterwards, General Winder, one of the American officers confined in Canada, was permitted to return home on his parole, and the president granted the same indulgence to several of the British officers who had been confined; and, in process of time, all who had been imprisoned as hostages were released.

Suspensions, probably not entirely unfounded, were entertained that numerous British vessels on our coast derived their supplies from our own merchants. Some of them, it was believed, cleared out their vessels for foreign friendly ports, and, in pursuance of previous arrangements, disposed of their cargoes to the enemy; or submitting to be captured and sent to Halifax, or some other port of the enemy, there sold their goods for their own benefit. To prevent this, congress, upon the recommendation of the president, prohibited all exports from the country. As this put a stop to all honest commerce, the measure was virulently condemned by the merchants, and was exceedingly unpopular in the navigating states, especially in New England. Those who suffered from it denied that the instances of illegal traffic with the enemy were sufficiently numerous to justify this harsh expedient, involving the innocent with the guilty; and they attributed it to the hostility of the administration to northern interests and to commerce generally. It engendered in the breasts of a large portion of the people engaged in navigation excessive bitterness of feeling, and excited almost to frenzy the passions of many.

By the strength of the opposition, and the want of pecuniary means, the government were greatly embarrassed in the prosecution of the war. Unfortunately, it was most unpopular in that portion of the Union where resources in men and money were most ample. But difficulties were felt, only as incitements to greater activity and to sterner resolutions. To encourage enlistments, a bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars was offered to recruits, and the president was authorized to borrow twenty-five millions of dollars, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. Great difficulty was ex-

perienched in obtaining money; and the treasury notes, when used as a circulating medium, passed at a considerable discount.

Before the termination of the session, a communication was received from the British government, declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negociation at London or Gottenburgh. The proposition was accepted by the American government, who chose Gottenburgh as the place of meeting, for which Ghent was afterwards substituted; and Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were joined with the commissioners already in Europe. Mr. Clay in consequence, relinquished the situation of speaker in the house of representatives, and was succeeded by Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina.

Early in the spring, the American army marched from French Mills: a part of the troops, under the command of General Wilkinson, proceeding to Plattsburgh, and the remainder, under General Brown, returning to Sacket's Harbour. Near the last of March, General Wilkinson penetrated into Canada and attacked a body of the enemy, occupying a large stone mill, on the River La Cole. He was repulsed with considerable loss. This defeat detracted from his already diminished reputation. He was removed from command, and General Izard appointed to succeed him. For three months, the armies of both nations continued inactive. Meanwhile information was received of the stupendous events which had recently occurred in Europe. The emperor of France, having been arrested in his victorious career, and sustained defeat, was compelled to abdicate his throne, and retire to the island of Elba. Louis XVIII. was proclaimed king; and Great Britain, at peace with all the world but the United States, was enabled to direct against them alone the immense force which had been employed to crush her rival. She delayed not to use the advantages afforded by her good fortune. From the ports of conquered France, ships-of-war and transports, bearing veteran and victorious troops, sailed to the American continent, some destined to the Niagara frontier, and some to the Atlantic coast.

These events could not be viewed with indifference by the American people. The friends of the administration anticipated a severe conflict, and prepared for greater sacrifices and greater sufferings. Its opposers were encouraged to make more vigorous efforts, to wrest the reins of authority from men who, they asserted, had shown themselves incompetent to hold them. These efforts, although condemned by a great majority of the people, diminished in no slight degree the strength of the republic.

In the beginning of July, General Brown, who had been assiduously employed in disciplining his troops, crossed the

Niagara, with three thousand men, and took possession without opposition, of Port Erie. In a strong position at Chippewa, a short distance above the falls, was intrenched an equal number of British troops, under the command of General Riall. General Brown determined to approach their works and offer them battle. Early in the morning of the 4th, General Scott advanced with his brigade, and was followed by General Brown, General Ripley, with his brigade, and field artillery, and General Porter's volunteers. The army was drawn up, in regular order, within two miles of the enemy, and remained in that position until the next day.

Soon after sunrise, on the 5th, the British marched to attack the Americans. General Porter's volunteers were the first engaged: they sustained, for a time, the shock of troops superior in numbers and discipline, but ere long retreated; General Scott's brigade and Towson's artillery met the pursuing enemy on the plains of Chippewa, where a severe action took place; a daring movement made by Major Jessup, in the midst of a destructive fire, turned the scale in favour of the Americans; the enemy gave way, were hotly pursued, soon broke, and fled in disorder to their intrenchments. Their loss was five hundred and four; that of the Americans, three hundred and twenty-eight.

This decisive victory, in the first regular pitched battle of the war, achieved over a superior force, after so many reverses, diffused joy throughout the nation, and was hailed as an omen of future success. The troops showed, by their conduct, that they had essentially improved in all warlike qualities; and the officers engaged, particularly Scott, Jessup, Leavenworth, M'Neil, and Towson, displayed bravery and skill which called forth the high commendation of the commander-in-chief. Soon afterwards, General Riall, abandoning his works, retired, at first to Queenston, and then to Burlington Heights. Brown followed him to Queenston, but afterwards fell back to Chippewa. Lieutenant-General Drummond, collecting all the troops in that region, joined General Riall, and the whole marched towards Chippewa. On the 25th, the two armies met at Bridgewater, near the Falls of Niagara, where was fought a desperate and most bloody battle. It began late in the afternoon, and continued until midnight. The moon, though often obscured, at times shone brightly. The roar of the falls was silenced by the thunder of cannon and the din of arms, but was distinctly heard, mingled with the groans of the dying, during the pauses of the fight.

The action was a succession of engagements at different positions. Against a superior force, the Americans, for several hours, contended with various success. During the first part of the engagement, they were sorely annoyed, into whatever

part of the field they might drive the enemy or be driven, by the British artillery stationed on a commanding eminence, near Lundy's Lane. "Can you storm that battery?" said General Ripley to Colonel Miller. "I'll try, sir," was the laconic answer. Giving the word of command to his men, they, with steady courage, ascended the hill, advanced to the muzzles of the cannon, killed with the bayonet several artillery-men on the point of firing their pieces, and drove the remainder before them.

Both parties were instantly reinforced, and the enemy made a daring effort to regain their cannon. They were repulsed, but quickly repeated the attempt. Nearly all the opposing forces gathered around this position; and to possess it was the sole object of both armies. Again the enemy were repulsed; but again they renewed the effort. After a violent conflict, they were a third time driven from the hill. The firing then ceased; the British troops were withdrawn; and the Americans were left in quiet possession of the field.

Generals Brown and Scott having both been severely wounded, the command devolved upon General Ripley. He remained a few hours upon the hill, collected the wounded, and then returned unmolested to the camp. The number of the killed and wounded proves the bravery of the combatants and the severity of the conflict. On the American side, it was seven hundred and forty-three; on the British, one hundred less; and of the latter, one hundred and seventeen more were missing than of the former. The British, therefore, besides losing their position, sustained the greater loss of men; and yet they claimed the victory.

General Ripley found his force so much weakened, that he deemed it prudent again to occupy Fort Erie. It was not then in a defensible condition, but all the efforts in his power were applied to strengthen it. On the 4th of August, it was invested by General Drummond with five thousand troops. In defending it, no less bravery and skill were requisite, and no less were displayed, than in contending in the field. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the besiegers made an assault upon the fort, which was repelled with conspicuous gallantry by the garrison, the former losing more than nine hundred men, the latter but eighty-four.

The siege was still continued. On the 2d of September, General Brown, having recovered from his wounds, threw himself into the fort, and took command of the garrison. For their fate, great anxiety was felt by the nation, which was, however, in some degree, removed by the march from Plattsburgh of five thousand men to their relief. On the 17th, a sortie was made by the besieged, General Porter of the New York militia, and General Miller of the regular army, com-

manding divisions. The bravery of the troops equalled that which they had displayed in the recent contests. After an hour of close fighting, they returned to the fort, having destroyed a large part of the enemy's works, and killed, wounded, and taken one thousand of the enemy. Their loss was severe, amounting to more than five hundred.

On the 21st of September, the forty-ninth day of the siege, General Drummond withdrew his forces, relieving the garrison from their toil, which had been incessant, and from their danger, which had been encountered without fear. Seldom have troops deserved higher praise of their country. On the 9th of October, General Izard arrived with the reinforcement from Plattsburgh, and, being senior officer, took the command. On the 18th, he marched, with his whole force, in pursuit of the enemy, whom he found at Chippewa, strongly posted in a fortified camp. After making several unsuccessful attempts to entice them into the field, he evacuated Canada, and placed his troops in winter quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock, and Batavia.

In July, the enemy took possession of Eastport, on Moose Island, in Maine, declaring that they considered it a part of the British dominions. Great Britain had formerly claimed it as such; but it had, by a board of commissioners, been adjudged to belong to the United States. On the 1st of September, between thirty and forty British vessels entered the mouth of the Penobscot, and took possession of Castine, claiming, as British territory, all the country east of that river, which Great Britain formerly contended was the true St. Croix. The expedition was conducted by the governor of Nova Scotia, who doubtless hoped that, whenever the war should close, this part of Maine would be retained by his sovereign. It had then been discovered that the only convenient route from Nova Scotia to Canada lay through the territory claimed. The United States frigate Adams, of twenty-eight guns, was then at Hampden, thirty miles above Castine, undergoing repairs. A detachment of the enemy, consisting of two armed vessels, a transport, and barges, ascended the river to capture her. A few of the militia of the neighbourhood assembled to aid her crew in defending her; but, after a short skirmish, finding the force they were contending with superior to theirs, they spiked her guns, set her on fire, and fled. About fifty of the enemy were killed or wounded; on the American side, the loss was two, made prisoners.

The march of the troops from Plattsburgh having left that post almost defenceless, the enemy determined to attack it by land, and, at the same time, to attempt the destruction of the American flotilla on Lake Champlain. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, the governor-general of Canada, with

an army of twelve thousand men, most of whom had served in the wars of Europe, entered the territories of the United States. As soon as his object was ascertained, Brigadier-General Macomb, the commander at Plattsburgh, called to his aid the militia of New York and Vermont, who, with alacrity and without distinction of party, obeyed the call.

On the 6th, the enemy arrived at Plattsburgh, which is situated near Lake Champlain, on the northerly bank of the small river Saranac. On their approach, the American troops, who were posted on their opposite bank, tore up the planks of the bridges, with which they formed slight breastworks, and prepared to dispute the passage of the stream. Several attempts to cross it were made by the enemy; but they were uniformly defeated. From this time until the 11th, the British army were employed in erecting batteries, while the American forces were every hour augmented by the arrival of volunteers and militia.

Early in the morning of that day, the British squadron, commanded by Commodore Downie, appeared off the harbour of Plattsburgh, where that of the United States, commanded by Commodore M'Donough, lay at anchor, prepared for battle. The former, consisting of sixteen vessels, carried one hundred and fifteen guns, and was manned with upwards of a thousand men; the latter, consisting of fourteen vessels, carried one hundred and two guns, and was manned with eight hundred and fifty men.

At nine o'clock the battle commenced. Seldom has the ocean witnessed a more furious encounter than now took place on the bosom of this transparent and peaceful lake. At the same moment, the enemy on land began a heavy cannonade upon the American lines, and attempted, at different places, to cross the Saranac. At a ford above the village the strife was hot and deadly. As often as the enemy advanced into the water, they received a destructive fire from the militia; and their dead bodies floated down the stream, literally crimsoned with blood.

At half past eleven, the shout of victory, heard along the American lines, announced the result of the battle on the lake. A second British squadron had yielded to the prowess of American seamen. The cry animated to braver deeds their brethren on the land. Fainter became the efforts of the enemy. In the afternoon, they withdrew to their intrenchments. In the night, they began a precipitate retreat, and had fled eight miles before their departure was known in the American camp.

In the battle on the lake, the Saratoga, commanded by M'Donough, and carrying twenty-two guns, was opposed to

the *Confiance*, commanded by Downie, and carrying thirty-seven guns. Few ships in any engagement ever suffered more than these. By the first discharge of the *Confiance*, about forty on board the *Saratoga* were killed or wounded. In an hour and a half, nearly all the guns of each, on the side next her antagonist, were disabled; and each attempted to veer, and bring her other guns to bear. M'Donough, presuming that he might wish to do so, had prepared for it, and succeeded; Downie failed; and, on receiving several broadsides from the fresh guns of the *Saratoga*, he struck his flag. Very soon afterwards, all the other vessels did the same; but several of the smallest afterwards escaped. The number of Americans killed and wounded was one hundred and ten; that of the British, about two hundred.

On land, the disproportion of loss was greater; but there, the numbers engaged being considered, the battle was not so bloody. The total loss of the Americans was one hundred and nineteen. How many of the enemy were killed and wounded has never been ascertained. Their whole loss in the expedition was estimated at twenty-five hundred; but in this number were included more than five hundred British soldiers, who, preferring to remain in America, deserted from the retreating army. With these splendid victories closed the campaign on the northern frontier.

On the ocean, the republican flag maintained its high reputation. Victory was not always won; but defeat never occurred attended with dishonour. It was in this year that the *Essex*, as before related, surrendered to the *Phébe* and *Chester*, whose united forces were much superior. In April, the American sloop *Frolic*, of eighteen guns, struck to the British frigate *Orpheus*, of thirty-six. In the same month, the American sloop *Wasp*, commanded by Captain Blakeley, captured the *Reindeer* and afterwards, in the same cruise, sunk the *Avon*; the former of about equal, the latter of superior force. She made several other prizes, but never returned into port. Darkness rests upon her fate. The republic, with deep and sincere grief, mourned the loss of her gallant crew.

The people of the Middle and Southern States, anticipating a great augmentation of the enemy's force, and uncertain where the blow would fall, made exertions to place every exposed position in a posture of defence. The citizens of New York displayed extraordinary activity and zeal. Philadelphia and Baltimore were supposed to be in less danger; but additions were made to their fortifications. For the protection of Washington, a military district, embracing Maryland, Columbia, and a part of Virginia, was established, and the command of it given to General Winder, of Baltimore. One thousand

regular troops were placed at his disposal, and he was authorized to call to his aid fifteen thousand militia.

In the beginning of August, the expected reinforcements, consisting of many vessels of war, and a large number of troops, arrived in the Chesapeake from Europe. Of this force several frigates and bomb vessels were ordered to ascend the Potomac; another division, under Sir Peter Parker, was directed to threaten Baltimore; the main body ascended the Patuxent as far as Benedict, where, on the 19th of August, five thousand men, commanded by General Ross, were landed.

In the mean time, General Winder had called on the militia to repair to this standard. They were exceedingly remiss in obeying the call. On the 22d, not more than two thousand had assembled. At the head of these, and of one thousand regulars, he took a position not far from the enemy, intending to prevent their progress into the country.

A particular account of the subsequent events will not be attempted. General Ross, marching through a scattered population, advanced towards Washington. The Americans retired before him. A stand was made near Bladensburg. The militia fled on the approach of danger; but a body of seamen and marines, commanded by Commodore Barney, not only maintained their ground, but compelled the enemy to give way. They rallied, however, immediately, outflanked the heroic band, put it to flight, and hastened forward.

The retreating forces were ordered to assemble on the heights near the capital; and there they were joined by a body of Virginia militia. But General Winder, considering his force too weak to oppose effectual resistance, retreated to the heights of Georgetown. Washington, thus left defenceless, was deserted by most of the citizens.

On the 24th, at eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy entered the city, and, at nine, the capitol, the president's house, and many other buildings, were set on fire. Valuable libraries, works of taste, and elegant specimens of the fine arts, were consigned to destruction. On the evening of the next day, the enemy left the city, and returned unmolested to Benedict; where, on the 30th, they embarked on board the transports. Their loss, during the incursion, including deserters, and such as died from fatigue on the march, exceeded eight hundred.

The capture of Washington reflected disgrace upon those by whom it ought to have been defended. The destruction of the national edifices attached a still darker stigma to the character of the enemy. The whole civilized world exclaimed against the act as a violation of the rules of modern warfare. The capitals of most of the European kingdoms had lately been in the power of an enemy; but in no instance had the conqueror

been guilty of similar conduct. An indignant spirit pervaded the republic. The friends of the government were not only increased in number, but felt an additional motive to exert all their faculties to overcome the enemy of their country.

The squadron which, at the same time, ascended the Potomac, met with even less resistance than which ascended the Patuxent. As soon as it arrived at Alexandria, the citizens proposed a capitulation; and the terms were speedily adjusted with the British commander. To purchase safety, they delivered up all their shipping, all the merchandise in the city and all the naval and ordnance stores, public and private. With a fleet of prizes, loaded with a rich booty, the enemy returned immediately to the ocean.

The success of the attack on Washington encouraged General Ross to undertake an expedition against Baltimore. On the 12th of September, he landed five thousand men on North Point, about fourteen miles from the city, to which he directed his march. Preparations for defence had already been made. The whole of the militia had been called into the field; the aged and the rich had voluntarily entered the ranks and assistance had been obtained from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

General Smith, who commanded the American forces, detached General Striker, with three thousand men to retard the progress of the enemy. The advanced parties met about eight miles from the city. In the skirmish which ensued, General Ross was killed. The invaders, however, under the command of Colonel Brooke, continued to advance, and soon met and attacked the detachment under Striker. One of the militia regiments gave way. This communicated a panic to the others, and the general fell back to the heights, where, behind breastworks hastily erected, the main body of the Americans awaited an attack.

After landing the troops at North Point, the British fleet had sailed up the Potomac, and bombarded Fort M'Henry and Fort Covington, which stand at the entrance into the harbour. The former was commanded by Major Armistead, the latter by Lieutenant Newcomb, of the navy. Both were gallantly defended; the fleet was repulsed; and the commander of the troops, finding that the naval force could afford no further assistance, retreated, on the 14th, to North Point, and the next day re-embarked. Soon after, the fleet left Chesapeake Bay, and part proceeded southward, to convey the troops to the theatre of future operations and of unprecedented slaughter.

In the New England States, a majority of the people were, from the first, opposed to the war; and as it restrained them from their most profitable pursuits,—commerce and the fisheries,—their dissatisfaction continued to increase. They complained that their peculiar interests were disregarded, and that

the government, employing elsewhere the resources drawn from New England, did not afford them that protection to which, as a part of the nation, they were entitled. The most zealous, therefore, recommended that not only the militia, but the revenue, should be retained at home, and employed for their own defence and protection.

The general court of Massachusetts proposed that a convention of delegates, from the New England States, should assemble at Hartford to devise means to obtain redress of their grievances. To this proposition Connecticut and Rhode Island acceded. In December, the convention met, consisting of delegates from those states, appointed by their legislatures; of two from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont, appointed at county meetings. Their sittings were secret. Upon their adjournment, they published an address to the people, in which, in bold and forcible language, they enumerated the measures of the national government supposed to be particularly detrimental to the interests of New England, and of the commercial class of the nation, and proposed such amendments to the constitution as would prevent, in future, the adoption of similar measures.

In the fall, congress were summoned to meet by the president. In his opening message, he stated that he had called them together that they might be ready to adopt measures adapted to peace, should peace be agreed on, which was possible, or to provide means for carrying on the war with redoubled energy, should Great Britain prefer to continue it. Of the progress of the negociation he had received no intelligence; but he intimated that he expected no favourable result. In the adjustment of the affairs of Europe, by which her sovereigns had sought to restore to the continental nations an equilibrium of power, England had been left in possession of all her means of annoyance on the ocean; and she had exhibited, in her late conduct, a disposition to use those means, in carrying on the war against us, in a more barbarous manner, and with more desperate purposes, than had before been indicated. "Whatever," he observed, "may have inspired the enemy with these more violent purposes, congress can never deliberate but on the means most effectual for defeating them." A terrible struggle was approaching, and the country must prepare to meet it.

In justification of themselves for departing from the usual practice of civilized nations in carrying on war, by involving in its distresses quiet villages and citizens engaged in the arts of peace, the enemy offered reasons which justice to them requires should be stated. Under despotic and monarchical governments, despots and kings declared war whenever they thought proper, often for insults to themselves, and for other

causes in which their people could feel no interest. In such cases, the contest was understood to be between kings and despots; and they, and those who consented to be agents in carrying it on, should be alone made to suffer. In this case, the war was declared by a republic, in which the people governed; they chose the representatives who declared it; they participated in the act, and it was but just and right that they should also participate in all its evils.

On the 20th of October, despatches were received from the commissioners at Ghent, and immediately communicated to congress. They confirmed the worst anticipations of the president. Great Britain, rendered arrogant by her successes in Europe and at Washington, had demanded that the Indians in alliance with her during the war should be included in the pacification. This was in conformity with the wishes of the United States. But she demanded, further, that all the territory north-west of the line described in the treaty of Grenville, —which ran from the middle of Lake Erie south-westwardly to the Ohio, near the mouth of Kentucky River, and of course included a part of the state of Ohio, and all of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan,—should be ceded and secured to them for ever; both contracting parties engaging never to purchase any part of it. And she insisted that the United States should engage not to construct nor maintain any armed vessels on the lakes, any forts on their southern shores, nor on the southern shores of the river which connects them; and that they should also agree to such a variation of the northern and eastern boundary as would secure to great Britain a communication between Quebec and Halifax. Her commissioners moreover intimated that, as the right to the fisheries, secured to the United States by the treaty of 1783, had been abrogated by the war, they must not expect to enjoy it hereafter without giving an equivalent for it. "We need hardly say," add the American commissioners, "that the demands of Great Britain will receive from us a unanimous and decided negative; and we have felt it our duty to apprise you that there is not, at present any hope of peace."

Congress shrunk not from the duty which this crisis imposed. Although the expenditure of the nation greatly exceeded the income,—although its finances were in disorder, and its credit was impaired,—yet the national legislature, with undaunted firmness, entered upon the task of furnishing the means to prosecute the war with increased vigour. The taxes were augmented, and new loans were authorized. The duties of secretary of war, from which post General Armstrong was removed, were assigned to Mr. Monroe; and those of secretary of the treasury to Mr. Dallas.

The repose of General Jackson, and of the troops which he

commanded, was interrupted by the arrival at Pensacola, in August, of three British ships-of-war, bringing three hundred soldiers, and arms and ammunition to be distributed among the Indians of Florida. The troops were permitted, by the Spaniards, to take possession of the fort, and the commander issued a proclamation, indicating an intention of carrying on war against the adjacent parts of the republic.

General Jackson, with characteristic promptness, took instant and efficient means for calling to his aid the patriotic militia, who had before been victorious under his banners; and, having remonstrated in vain with the governor of Pensacola, for affording shelter and protection to the enemies of the United States, he near the end of October, at the head of a body of regulars and two thousand mounted volunteers, marched against that place. A flag, sent to demand redress, was fired upon from the batteries. He immediately marched into the city, stormed the fort, obtained entire possession, and compelled the British to evacuate Florida.

Returning to his head-quarters at Mobile, he there received intelligence that a powerful expedition was on the way to attack New Orleans. Without delay, he marched with his troops to that city. He found it in a state of confusion and alarm. The militia, composed of men of all nations, was imperfectly organized. Many, feeling no attachment to the republic, had refused to enter the ranks. No fortifications existed on the various routes by which the place could be approached; and fears were entertained that the reinforcements of militia, which were expected from Kentucky and Tennessee, could not arrive in time to take part in the contest.

Undismayed by the difficulties which surrounded him, General Jackson adopted the most decided and efficient means for the safety of this rich and important city. He visited in person every exposed point, and designated the positions to be fortified. He mingled with the citizens, and infused into the greater part of them his own spirit and energy. By his presence and exhortation, they were animated to exertions of which before they were not supposed to be capable. All who could wield a spade, or carry a musket, were put to work upon the fortifications, or trained in the art of defending them.

The Mississippi, upon the east bank of which New Orleans stands, flows to the ocean in several channels. One, leaving the main stream above the city, runs east of it, and forms, in its course, Lake Ponchartrain and Lake Borgne. Early in December, the enemy entered this channel. Their whole force amounted to about eight thousand men, a part of whom had just left the shores of the Chesapeake, and the remainder had arrived directly from England. A small squadron of gun-boats, under Lieutenant Jones, was despatched to oppose their pas-

sage into the lake. These were met by a superior force, and, after a spirited conflict, in which the killed and wounded of the enemy exceeded the whole number of the Americans, they were compelled to surrender.

This disaster required the adoption, in the city, of more vigorous measures. Disaffection growing bolder, martial law was proclaimed; the authority of the civil magistrate was suspended; and arbitrary power was assumed and exercised by the commander-in-chief. May no emergency hereafter occur, in which a military officer shall consider himself authorized to cite, as a precedent, this violation of the constitution.

On the 21st of December, four thousand militia arrived from Tennessee. On the 22d, the enemy, having previously landed, took a position near the main channel of the river, about eight miles below the city. In the evening of the 23d, General Jackson made a sudden and furious attack upon their camp. They were thrown into disorder; but they soon rallied, and fought with bravery equal to that of the assailants. Satisfied with the advantage first gained, he withdrew his troops, fortified a strong position four miles below New Orleans, and supported it by batteries erected on the west bank of the river.

On the 28th of December and 1st of January, vigorous but unsuccessful attacks were made upon these fortifications by the enemy. In the mean time, both armies had received reinforcements; and General Packenham, the British commander, resolved to exert all his strength in a combined attack upon the American positions on both sides of the river. With almost incredible industry, he caused a canal, leading from a creek emptying into Lake Borgne to the main channel of the Mississippi, to be dug, that he might remove a part of his boats and artillery to the latter. All things being prepared, the 8th of January was assigned for the assault.

In the night, a regiment was transported across the river, to storm the works on the western bank, and turn the guns on the American troops, on the eastern. Early in the morning, the main body of the enemy, consisting of seven or eight thousand men, marched from the camp to the assault. While approaching fearless and undaunted, showers of grape-shot thinned their ranks. When they came within musket-shot, a vivid stream of fire burst from the American lines. General Jackson having placed his troops in two ranks, those in the rear loaded for those in front, enabling them to fire with scarcely a moment's intermission. The militia of the west, trained from infancy to the use of the rifle, seldom took unsteady or uncertain aim. The plain was soon covered with dead and wounded. While bravely leading to the walls the regiment which bore the ladders, General Packenham was

killed. In attempting to restore order and to rally the fugitives, General Gibbs, the second in command, was wounded mortally, and General Keene severely. Without officers to direct them, the troops first halted, then fell back, and soon fled in disorder to their camp. In little more than an hour, two thousand of the enemy were laid prostrate upon the field; while of the Americans but seven were killed and six wounded—a disproportion of loss without a parallel in the annals of warfare.

The events of the day on the west side of the river present a striking instance of the uncertainty of warlike operations. There the Americans were thrice the number of the assailants, and were protected by intrenchments; but they ingloriously fled. They were closely pursued, until the British party, receiving intelligence of the defeat of the main army, withdrew from pursuit and recrossed the river. They then returned, and resumed possession of their intrenchments.

General Lambert, upon whom the command of the British army had devolved, having lost all hope of success, prepared to return to his shipping. In his retreat he was not molested; General Jackson wisely resolving to hazard nothing that he had gained, in attempting to gain still more.

In the midst of the rejoicings for this signal victory, a special messenger arrived from Europe, with a treaty of peace, which, in December, had been concluded at Ghent. The British government had receded from all their demands; and as the orders in council had been repealed, and all motives for the impressment of seamen had ceased with the war in Europe, no stipulation, in relation to these subjects, was inserted in the treaty, which provided merely for the restoration of peace and the revision of boundaries. The treaty was immediately ratified by the president and senate.

But the war still continued for a short time on the ocean. In the course of the winter, the frigate *President*, then commanded by Captain Decatur, and the sloops *Hornet* and *Peacock*, were directed to proceed from the harbour of New York, on a cruise to the East Indies. At this time, a British squadron, consisting of a *raze* and three frigates, was cruising before that harbour. Captain Decatur, in the hope that he might pass singly in the night, set sail on the evening of the 14th of January, leaving orders for the sloops to follow. At daylight the next morning, he was discovered and pursued by the whole squadron. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the *Endymion*, of forty guns, had approached so near that both began to fire. After the engagement had continued an hour, Captain Decatur, perceiving the other ships approaching, proposed to his crew to board the *Endymion*, and, having conquered her,

to abandon their own ship and make their escape in the prize. The crew cheerfully assented; orders were given to lay the President by the side of her antagonist; but she, fearing the encounter, bore away, and continued the engagement at a safe distance. At eleven o'clock, the Pomona came up and joined in the action; soon after, the other vessels came within gunshot; when Captain Decatur, perceiving not the slightest hope of victory or escape, struck his flag. In this long contest, eleven of the enemy were killed and fourteen wounded; of the Americans, twenty-four were killed and fifty-six wounded, many of them by the fire from the Pomona.

The Hornet and Peacock proceeded to sea without being discovered. Ignorant of the fate of the President, they sailed to the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, the appointed place of meeting. In sight of that island, the Hornet, commanded by Captain Biddle, met and engaged the sloop Penguin, of about equal force. In twenty-two minutes, the latter struck. She had fourteen killed and eighteen wounded, and was so much damaged that Captain Biddle thought it inexpedient to send her home, and scuttled her. On board the Hornet, one was killed and ten wounded; and she received so little damage that, in two days, she was ready to proceed on her cruise.

On the 30th of June, the Peacock, then cruising in the Straits of Sunda, and her commander having no knowledge of the peace, fell in with the Nautilus, of fourteen guns. The two ships having exchanged broadsides, the latter struck. Of her crew, six were killed and eight wounded; of that of the Peacock, none were hurt. The next day, the American commander, having ascertained that peace had been concluded, and that the time prescribed for the cessation of hostilities had passed, gave up the Nautilus, and returned home.

In December, the frigate Constitution, then commanded by Captain Stewart, sailed from Boston, and, passing near Bermuda and Madeira, entered the Bay of Biscay. She cruised for a while on the coast of Portugal, where she made two prizes. On the 20th of February, she fell in with two ships-of-war, and, having ascertained that they were enemies, succeeded, by a series of manœuvres, which nautical men have highly applauded, and by rapid and effective firing whenever the positions of the several ships were favourable, in capturing both. They were the British ships Cyane, mounting thirty-four guns, and Levant, mounting twenty-one. In this cruise, the Constitution carried fifty-two guns; but she had more men than both of her antagonists. Of her crew, three were killed and twelve wounded; of the enemy, the number killed and wounded was estimated by Captain Stewart at about seventy; but they, in unofficial publications stated it less. The Levant

was recaptured; the Constitution and Cyane arrived safe in American ports.

That the United States had sufficient cause for the war just ended, few, if any, save zealous partisans, ever denied or doubted. Their commerce had been plundered on the ocean, and the sensibility and honour of the nation had been deeply wounded by outrages upon the liberty of its seamen. But many doubted whether, at the time, a war was expedient, or necessary for the vindication of the national honour. The state of the world appeared to them to extenuate conduct, which, indefensible at all times, seemed almost unavoidable in nations struggling for existence, and acting under the influence of passions which twenty years of war and commotion had implanted in every European bosom.

That, when the war was declared, the country had not been placed in a fit state of preparation for carrying it on, was then and afterwards charged against the administration of that time. And this was true. The treasury was empty; the army was neither numerous nor well disciplined; our fortifications were insufficient; and our navy comparatively weak. It may be said, however, as an apology for that administration, that from a state of open war we could suffer little more than from the war in disguise before carried on against us; that, whatever may be the dictates of policy, and whatever lessons experience and patriotism may have inculcated, it will always be difficult for the government of this country to make adequate preparation for a war, before it is declared, or to make strenuous efforts in carrying it on, until the people have been aroused by engaging in the conflict.

In consequence of this want of preparation, the first was, on land, a year of disasters; but it tried the capacities of the officers, cast aside those who were unfit, and brought into view, and into action, talent which had before lain unperceived or dormant. The ferment in men's minds, before political, became military; gallant and skilful officers, spirited and disciplined soldiers, multiplied as the war progressed. Defeat produced the resolution to conquer; victory, the hope of other and more glorious victories. Before the war closed, the nation became convinced that it had nothing to fear from the want of military qualities in the people; the laurels of its heroes had covered every stain upon its fame.

The republic, therefore, came out of the war with higher respect for itself. In the midst of all its boasting, it had always been inwardly sensible that it stood low in the rank of nations. It smarted under ridicule, was elated by commendation, and fretted under the anticipation of neglect and contempt. There existed among the people an English feeling and a French feeling; not so strong, certainly, as to give

controlling influence to either nation, but too strong to be compatible with a proper degree of self-reliance and self-respect. All this was now changed. The people had now something which they felt they could be proud of. Foreign partialities were smothered by a national feeling, which, as it gained in strength, imparted dignity to the national character.

It was a fortunate result of the war that it procured favour for the navy. Before, strong prejudices against it had grown up in the minds of many. Some believed that if we should build ships-of-war, England could easily capture them, and add them to her own navy; that we should, in fact, build them only for her: others, not interested in navigation, felt no solicitude for what afforded no protection to their plantations, farms, and firesides. Perhaps, as a navy had been a favourite of the first and second administrations, and of course condemned by the opposition, the party prejudices then implanted had not been wholly eradicated; and perhaps the English practice of impressment had become too closely connected, in the minds of many, with the navy itself, to be separated from it. But the splendid victories of ours conquered and dissipated most of these prejudices. It was apparent that its success gained us respect abroad; that it afforded protection, not only to our property, but to our fellow-citizens who had gone from among us to pursue legitimate employments profitable to themselves and highly beneficial to the nation: that naval warfare did not cause such wide-spread devastation and extensive suffering as warfare on the land; and that from naval forces no such danger to liberty could be apprehended as from a standing army and from the heroes it might produce.

Some proceedings of congress, which were passed over from a desire to give a connected narrative of the stirring events of the war, require to be noticed. The victories of which an account has been given were not gained without strenuous efforts and immense expenditures. At the same time, the revenue of the country, derived from the usual sources, was greatly diminished; and the credit of the nation, having been too much and too often resorted to, was seriously impaired. But the war had become more popular, and even most of those who still condemned it, were impelled by their patriotism to take part with their country, and to lend their aid to defeat and chastise its enemies. Congress, therefore, dared to call upon the people themselves to contribute to replenish the treasury. Laws were passed imposing taxes on banks; on carriages and harnesses; on the distillation of spirits; on household furniture and watches; on domestic manufactures; on licenses to retailers; and on sales at auction. These internal duties were recommended by the secretary of the treasury, and he esti-

mated their product, for the year 1815, at nearly 8,000,000 of dollars.

But this not being sufficient, a law was passed imposing a direct tax on lands and slaves of 6,000,000 of dollars; and permission was given to issue treasury notes to a large amount, by virtue of which more than 16,000,000 of dollars, in such notes, were actually issued. Furthermore, on the 15th of November, a loan was authorized of 3,000,000 of dollars; on the 21st of December, another of 6,000,000; on the 9th of January, another of 3,000,000; and, on the 3d of March, another of nearly 18,000,000 and a half. But some of these were temporary loans, and to be repaid out of the proceeds of the taxes imposed; and the last was receivable in treasury notes, which the government was unable to pay, and it therefore proposed to convert, in this way, that species of debt into a funded debt. From the year 1812 to the year 1815, both inclusive, the whole amount actually borrowed was 46,920,811 dollars 12 cents; the whole amount of treasury notes issued was 26,207,965 dollars 79 cents.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty of peace, the subject of the reduction of the army was brought before congress. At this time, it consisted of thirty-two thousand one hundred and sixty men, besides commissioned officers. Upon the question, what number should be retained, a debate arose of some length and animation. In the house, ten thousand was first proposed; but a majority decided in favour of six thousand. In the senate, fifteen thousand was the number preferred; the bill which finally passed fixed the number at ten thousand. A board of officers, consisting of Generals Brown, Jackson, Macomb, Gaines, and Ripley, were directed by the president to make a selection of officers and men to be retained; and, this duty being performed, the supernumeraries were discharged on the 15th day of the following June.

In regard to the navy, several laws were passed to adapt it to a state of peace. The president was authorized to cause all the armed vessels on the lakes except such as he might deem necessary to enforce the revenue laws, and also all the barges composing the flotilla establishment, and as many of the gun-boats as, in his opinion, could be spared, to be sold or laid up, they being first divested of their armament, tackle, and furniture. But no disposition was felt to diminish the force of the navy: on the contrary, at the close of the session, a special appropriation was made of 200,000 dollars annually, for three years, for the purchase and supply of every description of timber required for ship-building and other naval purposes.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, RELIGION, &c.

THE whole duty of an historian is not accomplished by the relation merely of great and interesting events, of party conflicts, of political intrigues and changes. Education, literature, religion, and other kindred topics, are even more important; and some account of them is due to the reader.

Enough has already been told to show that modes of existence altogether unknown to man in the Old World arose and prevailed in the New. Never before had an intelligent people, quitting a country where science, and the arts, and literature, had been carried to a high state of perfection, and knowledge accumulated beyond all preceding and contemporary example, sought and chosen an abode in a distant continent, where none of their race existed to aid or impede their progress, or modify their social character; leaving behind all the evils and carrying with them most of the blessings of civilization; casting off the dead body of ancient abuses, and moving onward, unburdened and unrestrained, whithersoever the wisdom they had brought with them might direct.

Of the abuses left behind, the most important were, the principle that political power could be inherited; the law of primogeniture; ecclesiastical establishments; and distinction of classes;—all tending to produce and perpetuate the error, the most pernicious to the happiness of man, that God and nature intended the Few to govern and enjoy, and the Many to obey and be taxed. Of those who came, some brought with them more wisdom and intelligence than others. The Puritans who emigrated to New England were mostly well educated; some were erudite scholars; and all considered it essential that their children, and their neighbours' children, should be able to read and understand the Scriptures. Believing that every soul was equal in the sight of God, they deemed it their duty to enable every one to ascertain His will and to seek salvation in the way he had pointed out. They foresaw, too, that every man might become a freeman, be entitled to exercise important rights, and be called upon to perform duties; and they were well aware that, to enable them to do either, education was indispensably necessary.

In 1647, a law was passed in Massachusetts providing that, in every township containing fifty householders, a school should be kept, in which all the children who might resort to it should be taught to read and write; and that it should be maintained by a tax assessed on all the residents according so their pro-

perty. As the number of inhabitants increased, the township was divided into small districts, and a school supported in each; and care was taken that the school-houses should be so placed that even small children might walk to them from almost every dwelling-house.

Immediately after their first settlement, the same system was adopted by the other colonies of New England; and it has by all of them been maintained to the present time. Connecticut, having a large tract of land in Ohio, called the Western Reserve which was sold for one million two hundred thousand dollars, appropriated the whole sum for the support of common or primary schools. The sum has since been augmented to one million nine hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and the interest is annually distributed to the several school districts, according to the number of scholars taught in each. It must be expended solely for instruction; and all the incidental expenses of the schools must be paid by the districts.

The effect of this system has been to diffuse among the great body of the people of these states a degree of knowledge which none other has ever attained. All can read and write, and rarely can one, born in the country, be found not qualified to transact the common concerns of life. The minds of all have been prepared to receive and enabled to impart information; they have been stimulated to activity and trained to investigation. Intelligence guiding every hand has doubled the value and the product of labour, and overcome the disadvantages of a sterile soil and inhospitable climate.

The great state of New York, distinguished for magnificent projects of internal improvement, and for liberal patronage of literature and the arts, has lately devoted more attention and appropriated larger funds than any other state to the establishment and improvement of common schools. In 1805, an act was passed setting apart the proceeds of five hundred thousand acres of the public lands, which should first be sold, as a permanent fund for that purpose; and directing that these proceeds should be placed at interest, and the fund allowed to accumulate until the annual income should amount to fifty thousand dollars; and that it should afterwards be applied to the support of common schools in such manner as the legislature should direct. This fund, having received additions from another source, amounted, in 1814, to eight hundred and twenty-two thousand dollars, yielding an income of fifty-seven thousand dollars. By several statutes, a superintendent of schools was appointed; provision was made that the proceeds of the fund should be distributed among the several towns; and the county supervisors were directed to raise, by a tax on the towns, a sum equal to that which they were entitled to receive from the state. In 1815, the amount received from all

sources by the districts was about sixty-five thousand dollars ; in 1838, it was three hundred and seventy-four thousand ; and it was ascertained that, in the same year, there was expended by private individuals, in payment of teachers' wages, the additional sum of five hundred and twenty-one thousand dollars. In the former year, the whole number of children instructed in the common schools was one hundred and forty thousand ; in the latter, five hundred and fifty-seven thousand ; the increase being much greater than that of the population of the state, and therefore showing the rapid progress which the love of education had made among the people.

The greatest difficulty experienced in those states where common schools have been established, and their capacity to do good clearly perceived, has been, to find fit and competent teachers. * To obviate this, provision has been made in New York to establish, in many of the numerous academies in that state, departments for the instruction of such persons, male and female, as are desirous of devoting their time to that employment, not only in the branches to be taught, but in the best mode of communicating knowledge to the young. And, furthermore, that useful information of all kinds might be extensively, and even universally, diffused throughout the state, a large annual appropriation has been made, to be expended for three successive years, in purchasing, for every district, a school library, for the use, not only of scholars, but of every inhabitant.

Other states, following the examples of Connecticut and New York, have set apart funds and made annual appropriations for the support of common schools. New Jersey has a fund of about three hundred thousand dollars ; Pennsylvania, besides making, in one year, an appropriation of five hundred thousand dollars, to be expended principally in building school-houses, appropriates annually a sum equal to one dollar for every taxable inhabitant, all numbering, at this time, more than three hundred thousand. The amount annually distributed by Ohio is nearly five hundred thousand dollars ; by Maryland, more than sixty thousand. In most of these states, no district is allowed to participate in the public bounty, which does not expend a certain, generally an equal, amount derived from its own resources. Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, and Michigan, have also set apart large funds for the support of common schools ; but they have not yet devised and carried into extensive and regular operation a system for the expenditure of the income.

The national government has not been unmindful of the importance of universal education. Before the adoption of the constitution, it acquired, by the cession of the states claiming it, the property of nearly all the unappropriated land within

the national boundaries. In offering this land for sale, it has reserved, in every township, one section, comprising six hundred and forty acres, for the use of schools. As the population of the new states becomes more dense, these lands will produce a valuable and productive fund, and the system of free schools, thus planted in the western, will there produce the same benefits as in the eastern portion of the Union. Judging from what has already been accomplished and projected, it cannot be long before means will have been provided for the instruction, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, of every child in the United States, at school-houses so placed as to be easily accessible to all.

Schools of a higher order, to which the name of Academies has been applied, are numerous in all the states, especially in those of New England and New York. Many are incorporated, and some possess considerable funds. In these schools are taught English grammar, composition, history, geography, mathematics, the Latin and Greek, and in some the modern languages. Many young men resort to them to acquire an education superior to that which can be obtained at the primary schools, and many to prepare themselves to enter some college or university. They are principally taught by those who have just received a degree in the arts, and who are unable, from the want of property, to engage immediately in the study of the professions which they intend to pursue.

Of colleges and universities there is also a large number in the United States. The oldest and first in rank is Harvard College, at Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was established in 1638, only eighteen years after the first settlement of Plymouth. It had then a fund of about five thousand dollars, nearly two thirds of which was a donation from the Reverend John Harvard, of Charlestown. The first degrees were conferred upon nine young gentlemen in 1642. It has since received many and large additions to its funds, principally donations from individuals; and, from the exertions of its learned presidents and professors, has, with short intermissions, been constantly advancing in reputation and increasing in usefulness. The library contains about forty-five thousand volumes. The faculty consists generally of a president and about twenty professors; the number of its students varies from two hundred and twenty to two hundred and fifty; and of its resident graduates from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five.

Yale College was founded in 1700, and incorporated in 1701. It was first established at Saybrook; but, in 1716, was removed to New Haven, in Connecticut. Elihu Yale, a merchant in London, having made to it a donation of more than four thousand dollars, its name was, in 1718, changed from Collegiate School to Yale College. Afterwards B

ley, the celebrated metaphysician, who had resided two years in America, presented to it a collection of books, consisting of nearly one thousand volumes; and a farm in Newport, the annual rent of which, on a long lease, is two hundred and forty bushels of wheat. From the state, and from other sources, it has received many liberal donations. Its libraries contain about twenty-five thousand volumes. The faculty consists generally of a president, and from ten to fifteen professors; and the number of its students is about four hundred.

* In addition to these, there are in the Union about ninety colleges and universities authorised to confer degrees. In all of these are taught the English, Latin, and Greek languages, rhetoric, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, chemistry, astronomy, history, and geography. In some of them are also taught the Hebrew, Oriental, and modern European languages, anatomy, surgery, medicine, botany, polite literature, divinity, ethics, natural and municipal law, politics, and elocution.

LITERATURE.—The remark has often been made, that the United States have produced no eminent scholars, and that the national character has not been illustrated by literary and scientific performances of distinguished merit. This remark is doubtless just. Compared with those of the Old World, their writers have not exhibited the same laboured polish of style, nor their men of science the same perseverance and extent of investigation. Their historians are not equal to Hume or Robertson; their poets to Milton or Pope; their chemists to Lavoisier or Davy; nor their metaphysicians to Locke, Berkeley, or Reid.

But this fact implies no deficiency of mental vigour in the people. The mind of the nation has received, from circumstances, a different direction. Those who are endued with extraordinary talent, whatever may have been their original propensities, have been called from the closet to labour in the legislative hall, or the cabinet; to vindicate the cause, or defend the interest of their country abroad; to dispense justice from the bench, or to support and defend, at the bar, the claims and the rights of their fellow-citizens.

To perform these duties—certainly not less honourable nor less difficult than any thing which the mere scholar can perform—a greater variety of talents, and greater intellectual labour, have been required in this, than in any other country.—Here, in comparatively a short period, the foundations have been laid, and the superstructures erected, of new political institutions. Many governments have been established over communities differing from each other, and from those of Europe; and over these a paramount government, with extensive

and important powers. For each of these communities, a new system of law has been required, and each government has a separate executive, legislative, and judicial department. The population of no country has been called upon to supply such a number of legislators, of judges, and of lawyers; nor, it may be added, of instructors of youth; and, while their number accounts for the comparative neglect of literature and the fine arts, the talents they have displayed sufficiently vindicate the republic from the reproach of intellectual inferiority.

But not in these modes alone have the people of these states proved, that in original powers of mind they may assert an equality, at least, with those of any other nation. None has made more important discoveries in the useful arts. England boasts of her Arkwright, who invented the spinning machine; of her Worcester, Newcomen, and Watt, by whose ingenuity and labours the powers of steam were substituted for the uncertain aid of wind and water in moving the machinery of manufactories. America may boast of her Godfrey, whose quadrant has been almost as serviceable as the compass to navigation; of her Franklin, who has made our dwellings comfortable within, and protected them from the lightning of heaven; of her Whitney, whose cotton gin has added to the annual product of that article at least three hundred millions of pounds; of her Whittemore, the inventor of the wonderful machine for making cards; of her Perkins, the inventor of the nail machine; and of her Fulton, who has rendered the power of steam subservient to the purposes of navigation.

But the United States have produced authors who would do honour even to any other nation. The style of Franklin is perspicuous and pure; and few men of any age or country have contributed more, by their writings, to enlighten and to benefit mankind. The histories of Marshall, Belknap, Williams, Bancroft, and Prescott, are works of sterling merit, interesting, and instructive. Among theological writers, Edwards, Hopkins, Dwight, Davies, Buckminster, and Channing, are deservedly eminent. In the class of novelists, Brown, Cooper, and Sedgwick, rank high; and among philologists Webster has few if any equals.

Many of the political writers of this country have displayed great vigour of thought and force of expression. The pamphlets and state papers to which the revolutionary struggle gave existence; the numbers of the *Federalist*; the official letters of Mr. Jefferson, as secretary of state, and of the American ministers at Ghent, not only display intellectual powers, but possess literary merit, of the highest order. Some of the best writers of this republic have not been the authors of books.

A comparison between the orators of America and of any other country, even of England, cannot be so easily instituted.

It seldom falls to the lot of one man to witness the most powerful displays of eloquence in both; and if it did, no one could be so thoroughly conversant with the feelings and modes of thought of the different audiences, nor so perfectly acquainted with the topics discussed, or the objects to be attained, or the most proper means of attaining those objects, as to be capable of awarding the palm of merit. The most intelligent Englishman, after listening to a debate in congress on a constitutional question, might be excused for wondering how any of the speakers, though displaying surpassing ability, could be considered in the first rank of orators, with almost as much reason as a Frenchman for feeling surprise that Shakespeare had been placed at the head of dramatic poets. But does not this republic present as fitting audience and as attractive prizes; has she not furnished as glorious, as exciting topics; do not her institutions and social condition offer as frequent occasions, to form great orators as any nation that has ever existed? Here more start in the career of eloquence than in any other country; though thousands fail, would it not be surprising if some did not ascend the highest eminence? If an American may not claim for his country the superiority in this, the chief of all arts, he has a right to mention with pride the names of Marshall, Webster, and Calhoun, of Henry, Ames, and Clay.

To the FINE ARTS still less attention has been paid than to literature; but the neglect is to be attributed rather to the deficiency of patronage than to the want of capacity to excel. Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, presided for many years over the Royal Society, comprising the most eminent painters of Great Britain. In portrait-painting, Copley, Stuart, Sully, and Peale, have acquired a high reputation; and in historical painting, Trumbull, Allston, Leslie, and Morse, excel. The United States claim only the honour of their birth; England and Italy, that of patronizing and instructing them.

RELIGION.—The consequences resulting from the enjoyment of religious liberty have been highly favourable. Free discussion has enlightened the ignorant, disarmed superstition of its dreadful powers, and consigned to oblivion many erroneous and fantastic creeds. Religious oppression, and the vindictive feelings it arouses, are hardly known. Catholics and Protestants live together in harmony; and Protestants who disagree, employ, in defending their own doctrines, and in assailing those of their antagonists, the weapons only of reason and eloquence.

In the New England States, the Independents or Congregationalists constitute the most numerous denomination; in the Middle States, the Presbyterians; and in the Southern, the Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, are found in all the states; but in Maryland and Louisiana, the

Catholics are more numerous than elsewhere. Each of these sects has one or more seminaries of learning, in which its peculiar doctrines are taught, and young men are educated for the ministry. Many other sects exist, but reason, less tolerant than the laws, is gradually diminishing the number.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS.—Foreigners have asserted that Americans possess no national character. If at any period this assertion has been true, it was then no reproach. In its youth, a nation can have no established character. The inhabitants of this republic, coming from every quarter of the world, speaking many different languages, dispersed over a vast extent of territory, could not immediately assimilate and exhibit those few prominent traits, which nations, as well as individuals, in their maturity, display.

But the germ of a national character has always existed. It has grown with our growth, and is gradually throwing into the shade those unfavourable and discordant traits which have disfigured and partly concealed it from view. Who, that has read the history of these states, has not perceived, in the inhabitants, an energy of purpose capable of surmounting all obstacles; a spirit of enterprise, that leaves nothing useful unattempted; a proud sense of personal dignity and independence; a decided preference of utility before show; and a love of knowledge that has dispelled ignorance from the land? They may have been too much devoted to the pursuit of gain; too much addicted to habits of intemperance; too much inflated with national vanity; bigoted and superstitious;—but these traits are now less apparent; they are constantly melting away, and those more noble appearing in bolder relief.

They whose wealth or talents place them in the first rank in society, are, in their manners, free from awkwardness, formality, haughtiness, and ostentation; but they do not display the elegance or refinement of the same class in Europe. The mass of the people are serious, shrewd, inquisitive, manly, and generally respectful; but they know little, and practise less, of the ceremonies of politeness. To foreigners, accustomed to the servility of the lower classes in Europe, they doubtless appear rough and uncourtly; and many fashionable tourists may have had their feelings needlessly wounded, and their delicacy shocked; but, when respectfully treated, they display native politeness and generosity of sentiment. Time will remove the grosser defects; but may it be never, by polishing too deeply, impair that strength of character which is essential to the permanence of our republican institutions!

A review of the rapid progress of the United States in population, wealth, and power; a survey of their present physical and moral condition and a comparison of them, in either respect, with other nations, cannot fail to give to an American

citizen an elevated conception of his own country, and to justify the loftiest anticipations of the future.

In a period of forty years, ending with 1830, the population of the republic increased from 3,893,835 to 12,866,920; it consequently doubles in less than twenty-five years. In Great Britain, the population does not double in less than eighty years; and in that country the increase is nearly, if not quite, as rapid as in any other country in Europe.

The augmentation of wealth and power cannot be so easily ascertained. It is the opinion of many, well qualified to judge, that it has been still more rapid; and when the increase of our exports, which in the same period advanced from 19,000,000 to 73,000,000; when the growth of our cities and villages; the increase of our manufacturing establishments, of our national and mercantile navy, of our fortifications and other means of defence; the extent of our internal improvements; and, beyond all, the extensive territories reclaimed from a state of nature, and made productive and valuable, are adverted to, that opinion will not appear unfounded nor extravagant.

Although now inferior to the principal of nations the Old World, yet but a short period will elapse before the United States, should their progress hereafter be the same that it has been, will overtake and pass them. Their great natural advantages will continue to urge them forward. Extensive tracts of fertile land yet remain vacant of inhabitants; the portions already settled are capable of supporting a much more numerous population; new roads and new canals will give greater activity to internal commerce, and open new fields to the untiring industry and enterprise of man; and, a small part only being required by the government, nearly the whole annual income will be added to the general capital, augmenting it in a compound ratio.

That these splendid anticipations are not the suggestions of national vanity, the history of the past sufficiently proves. Yet their fulfilment depends upon the future conduct of the people themselves; upon the preservation of free political institutions; upon their firmness in resisting the temptations which beset the prosperous; and, above all, upon their guarding against the besetting sin of republics—that which has hitherto, in every instance, been fatal—yielding their confidence to those who make the loudest professions of patriotism.

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